

Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham

Christopher A. Jones



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CHRISTOPHER A. JONES

Idaho State University



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The demands of research may sometimes tempt even the most willing student to echo, with new meaning, A. E. Housman's lament, 'The time lost, the tissues wasted, in doing anew the brainwork done before by others ... are in our brief irreparable life disheartening to think of.' Preparation of this book has often meant recourse to less familiar disciplines wherein, as a virtual beginner, I depended heavily on the work of previous scholars. If today I can claim that such remedial 'brainwork' was not too often 'disheartening', it is because time and again, and oftener by luck than merit, the task has led to acquaintance with some truly delightful, generous people. I am glad for the opportunity here to acknowledge their contribution to this work and to own as mine whatever faults remain in it.

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Abbreviations

AEOLO	<i>Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia</i> , ed. Hanssens
AH	<i>Analecta hymnica medii aevi</i> , ed. Dreves <i>et al.</i>
AMS	<i>Antiphonale missarum sextuplex</i> , ed. Hesbert
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BaP	Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa
BL	British Library
Brief(e)	Ælfric's pastoral letter(s), numbered as in <i>Hirtenbriefe</i> , ed. Fehr
CAO	<i>Corpus antiphonalium officii</i> , ed. Hesbert
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCM	Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CH I	<i>The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church</i> , vol. I, ed. Thorpe
CH II	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series</i> , ed. Godden
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DEC	<i>De ecclesiastica consuetudine</i>
DMA	<i>Dictionary of the Middle Ages</i> , ed. Strayer
DR	<i>Downside Review</i>

EC	<i>The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham</i> , ed. Salter
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
Hughes	Hughes, <i>Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office</i>
Hymnar	Gneuss, <i>Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter</i>
IBA	<i>Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis</i>
Lect.discr.long.	<i>Lectiones a textu discrepantes longiores</i> (variants of Amalarius's <i>Liber officialis</i>), in AEOL II, 545–65
Lib.off.	Amalarius of Metz, <i>Liber officialis</i> , in AEOL II, 13–543
LME	<i>Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham</i>
LS	<i>Ælfric's Lives of Saints</i> , ed. Skeat
Milfull	Milfull, <i>The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church</i>
n.s.	new series
ODCC	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. Cross and Livingstone
OR	<i>Ordo romanus / Ordines romani</i> , ed. Andrieu
o.s.	original series
PL	Patrologia Latina
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
PRG	<i>Le Pontifical romano-germanique</i> , ed. Vogel and Elze

<i>R1</i>	the <i>Retractatio prima</i> of Amalarius's <i>Liber officialis</i>
<i>R1(Sa)</i>	the version of <i>R1</i> in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 154
<i>RC</i>	<i>Regularis concordia Anglicae nationis</i> , ed. Symons and Spath
<i>RC (Fa)</i>	<i>Regularis concordia</i> in London, BL, Cotton Faustina B. iii, 159r–198v (+ London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, 177r–v)
<i>RC (Kornexl)</i>	<i>Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion</i> , ed. Kornexl
<i>RC (Symons)</i>	<i>Regularis concordia Anglicae nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation</i> , ed. and trans. Symons
<i>RC (Ti)</i>	<i>Regularis concordia</i> in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, 3r–27v
Roper	Roper, <i>Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy</i>
<i>RSB</i>	<i>Benedicti regula</i> , ed. Hanslik
<i>S</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> , ed. Sawyer
<i>Sacr.Greg.</i>	<i>Le Sacramentaire grégorien</i> , ed. Deshusses
<i>SASH</i>	Studies in Anglo-Saxon History
Schmidt	Schmidt, <i>Hebdomada Sancta</i>
<i>SEEH</i>	Studies in Early English History
<i>s.s.</i>	supplementary series
Tolhurst	Tolhurst, <i>An Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries</i>
<i>TUEP</i>	Münchener Universitätsschriften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie

The Eynsham 'letter' and the study of Ælfric

Even at the height of his literary activity, to the question 'What do you do?', Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 955-c. 1010) is easily imagined responding in words like those of his fictitious monastic novice in the Latin Colloquy, or classroom dialogue. 'Ælfric there has the boy say, when confronted with this question (Quid habes operis?): "Professus sum monachus, et psallam omni die septem sinaxes cum fratribus, et occupatus sum lectionibus et cantu." Though the Colloquy then proceeds to describe the work of numerous other, secular professions, the schoolmaster eventually returns to the novice, this time to pose a different question: which of the occupations is best? The boy again answers in terms of which Ælfric himself doubtless approves: "mihi uidetur seruutium Dei inter istas artes primatum tenere, sicut legitur in euangelio: "Primum querite regnum Dei et iustitiam eius, et hoc omnia adicientur uobis."2 Such assertions of primacy are of course commonplace in monastic literature, and the Colloquy, a school exercise, hardly presented its author an occasion to expound a nuanced theory of monkhood. The novice's words nevertheless remind us of an obvious yet often forgotten truth: to Ælfric, the 'greatest prose writer of the Anglo-Saxon period', the role of author was inevitably subsumed into his vocation as a monk and mass-priest, whose chief occupation was to worship God in the liturgy and carry out other duties laid down by the Rule of St Benedict. The passing of centuries and fortunate survival of Ælfric's many Old English homilies have ironically reversed the hierarchy of occupations that he would have considered properly his. Recovery of this largely implicit context of Ælfric's 'authorship' is exceedingly hard, and not only because crucial evidence has been lost to the intervening centuries. The difficulty also inheres in the nature of medieval monasticism, with its bewilderingly complex rituals that both shaped and were shaped by modes of thought and piety often remote from modern understanding.

Though it remains one of the least studied of Ælfric's writings, his so-called Letter to the Monks of Eynsham preserves the most direct record of the daily and yearly patterns of prayer and work in which

'Elfric, not unlike the Venerable Bede before him, spent most of his life. Despite this importance, the content of the 'letter' is quite forbidding, both in the sheer amount of its technical detail and manner of its presentation. Equally discouraging to modern readers, the subject at hand - monastic liturgy - seems to afford few opportunities to glimpse the interesting persona that sElfric elsewhere conveys so strongly and that has elevated him, like Bede, King Alfred and Archbishop Wulfstan, to the very exclusive ranks of 'known' Anglo-Saxon authors. Yet, on close examination, the LME is a vital document, both as a rare witness to the life of a specific Anglo-Saxon monastery and as a significant item in IElfric's canon, bearing many more hallmarks of his intelligence and characteristic concerns than might at first be apparent. The text has much to reveal about the author's use of sources and methods of composition, and perhaps, more subtly, about a changing sense of mission in the last stage of his career.` But the LME also shows the familiar IElfric in a different light, for it reminds us that his 'authorial' occupations of reading, writing and tireless revision were crowded into a busy schedule dominated by the liturgy. Because of its content, the Letter to the Monks of Eynsham is today viewed as a marginal text, when in fact the observances it describes - and the many more it does not - must be understood as an essential context of YElfric's career. Given the importance, moreover, of monastic scriptoria to Anglo-Saxon literary culture, something like this context probably informs, by extension, the activity of a great many Old English and Anglo-Latin 'authors', and of the scribes who copied their works.

THE TITLE

The Letter to the Monks of Eynsham survives only in a single eleventhcentury copy.' The text bears no title in the manuscript and begins directly with the greeting '/Elfricus abbas Egneshamnensibus fratribus salutem in Christo.'^o This prominent salutation and the similarly epistolary farewell (at LME 80) may explain the tendency, evidenced as early as the twelfth century, to identify the composition as a 'letter'. These framing devices aside, however, the substance of the work is an adaptation of the liturgical institutes known as the Regularis Concordia, which were compiled in the early 970s by 'Elfric's mentor, ffhethelwold, bishop of Winchester.' Both 'Ethelwold's text and fElfric's revision of it belong more properly to a class of documents known as monastic customaries or consuetudinaries - descriptions of specific liturgical and some extra-liturgical customs (consuetudines) by which a particular monastery put into practice the

teachings of St Benedict's Rules. A lfric virtually defines the genre when, in his preface to the LME, he characterizes its contents as 'certain matters upon which our [Benedictine] Rule does not touch'.⁹ The English title *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* does not appear to have become standard until after the nineteenth-century edition by princeps and pioneering articles by Mary Bateson.¹⁰ Fearing that to rename the text now would only perpetuate a long history of confusion over the work, I have thought it best to retain the now-common title, one that is commended, at least, by a degree of familiarity."

AUTHORSHIP

The identification of 'Elfricus abbas', compiler of the LME, with the celebrated homilist of the same name has won wide acceptance, and the present book will, in its course, review numerous similarities among the LME and other i'Elfrician works that place the attribution beyond serious doubt. The homilist's sermons and pastoral letters not only make occasional use of the same sources as the LME but draw on the same portions of these texts and adapt them in similar ways.¹² Slightly more disagreement has surrounded the validity of the LME-preface as evidence that A lfric was abbot of Eynsham. Although he styled himself as 'abbot' in several contexts,¹³ he never stated explicitly where he held the office, and at least one modern scholar has inferred that the 'tone' of the LME is not that of an abbot addressing his own community.¹⁴ Against that argument, others have pointed out that in the preface IElfric claims to be 'abiding' with his Eynsham audience ('uobiscum degens'), and that at the end of the customary he refers to the audience's continued obedience to him on certain matters ('obedienter mihi consistitis in hoc').¹⁵ Given the latter evidence and the risks of any too-literal reading of the conventional epistolary frame, nothing in the LME refutes the traditional location of IElfric's abbacy at Eynsham. Far more complex are the issues of the date of the text and the circumstances behind its composition.

THE FOUNDING OF EYNSHAM ABBEY AND DATE OF THE LME

The outlines of jElfric's career are well known.¹⁶ He must have been born around the middle of the tenth century and, to judge from the dialect of his vernacular writings, in the southwest of England. After an inadequate early education received from a local priest (recounted

in the famous preface to his translation of Genesis), he became a monk of the Old Minster, Winchester, during kthelwold's episcopacy (963-84). His literary career seems to have begun in earnest, however, with his transfer c. 987 to the abbey of Cernel (Cerne Abbas, Dorset), where during the next decade and a half he would compose his best-known works, including the two series of Catholic Homilies, a set of Lives of Saints, the Grammar, the Colloquy, the partial translation of Genesis and numerous additional Temporale homilies. Around the year 1005 he appears to have left Cernel to become abbot of Eynsham, where he remained until the end of his life, c. 1010. His works from this later period include the Letter to Sigeward on the Old and New Testaments, four pastoral letters (two in Latin, two in Old English) to Archbishop Wulfstan, the Vita S. 1L'thelwoldi and further additions to and revisions of his previous series of homilies.

It is generally assumed that the LME was written in or near 1005, the supposed date of the foundation of Eynsham and fElfric's appointment as its head.¹⁷ The major external witness to these events is a charter (S 911) issued in the name of King (Ethelred and dated 1005, confirming endowment of a monastery at Eynsham by 1Ethelm er.¹⁸ This 1Ethelmier - known from another source as 1Ethelm er se greata ('the stout') - was the son of fEthelweard the Chronicler, ealdorman of the western shires in the closing decades of the tenth century." A lfric enjoyed the friendship and patronage of father and son. At their request he took up a number of translation projects and by their agency received his appointments both to Cernel and to Eynsham.²⁰ 'Ethelmxr, who eventually succeeded his father as ealdorman of the western provinces,²¹ founded or (as now seems more likely) refounded both monasteries, and S 911 states that he himself appointed the first abbot of Eynsham, presumably 1Elfric (although the charter does not name the appointee).²² It has been argued that the monastery at Cernel existed for some time prior to 1Ethelmxr's endowment of 987 and had perhaps been founded by some member of his family before the death of King Edgar in 975.²³ The prehistory of Eynsham and the exact nature of what z'Ethelmxr did there in 1005 may be similarly complex. The relevant portion of the charter S 911 clearly indicates that the king is confirming privileges to a monastery already established:

Quapropter ego iEthelredus ... ueracibus litterarum apicibus insinuate curauī, quod A3thelmaro, uiro ualde fidelissimo michi quoque dilectissimo, impetrante, absolutissimum libertatis priuilegium constituo monasterio eius in honore sancti saluatoris, omniumque

sanctorum suorum, iure dedicato, in loco celebri iuxta fluuium qui uocatur Tamis constituto, quod ab incolis regionis illius Egnesham nuncupatur uocabulo.`4

The privilege mentions a monastery already built, staffed and dedicated to the Saviour and All Saints. The king's confirmation of the endowment and conferral of privileges would, by normal procedure, come as the last in a series of events including the dedication of the monastic church. The establishment of a new monastery was a process that might begin years before the official date recorded in document such as S 911.25 The Eynsham charter continues, too, with a brief but crucial reference to the history of the property before it came into ðEthelmxr's possession: `Quod quidem monasterium EEbelmarus ab i elweardo genero suo mutuando accepit, & pro illis triginta mansiunculis dedit triginta sex mansiones, tribus diuisas in locis . . . [here follows a list of the properties given in exchange for Eynsham].`26 This statement indicates that a monasterium already existed at Eynsham while the land was held by ðEthelmxr's son-in-law. John Blair's study of the early history of the Thames Valley confirms that Eynsham was the site of a minster of considerable wealth and importance by the year 864, and very likely by 821.27 Recent excavations at Eynsham have, moreover, confirmed Blair's reading of the documentary evidence by proving that ðEthelmer built his monastery on the site of a major, much older minster.28 Sadly, the condition of the site that passed into ðEthelmxr's hands cannot be known. The Eynsham monasterium might have been an abandoned ruin, but it might also have been a minster inhabited by secular clerks on whom A ðhelmxr imposed the reformed monastic life as a condition of their remaining in his new monastery. The presence in ðEthelmxr's foundation of clerks newly converted to the monastic life has even suggested to some a possible occasion for ðlfric's writing a document such as the LAIE,29 In any event, it seems that the `foundation' of Eynsham around 1005 was in effect a refoundation after the general pattern of the tenth-century reformers, who preferred, whenever possible, to revive the regular life in ancient minsters or at other sites, such as A-thelwold's Ely, venerated for their ties to a supposed golden age of Anglo-Saxon Christianity."

The unknown status of the pre-existing monasterium or details of the transaction urge that the date of S 911 (1005) be accepted rather as a terminus ante quem for the refoundation of the monastery and beginning of ðlfric's abbacy. The chronological relation of the LNIE to these events, however, remains largely a separate issue. The date of

the charter will not do as a *terminus post quem* for the drawing up of Ælfric's customary, since he and his community were already in residence before the drafting of the king's confirmation, either as restorers of an abandoned site or reformers of a previously secular minster. How much time passed between Æthelm's acquisition of the estates and the drawing up of the charter is unknown, as are the ancestry and early fortunes of the younger 'Ethelweard who held the site previously.' It would be helpful to know how the latter came to possess Eynsham and its monasterium, and whether or not he, too, was a fosterer of reformed monasticism, who might have allowed his father-in-law's new community to occupy the site before the transfer of estates was final. The obscurity of so many details cautions against the natural impulse to date the LME too narrowly on the basis of S 911. A *terminus ante quem non* for Ælfric's abbacy is at least given by the so-called private letter to Archbishop Wulfstan, who was elevated to the see of York (in plurality with Worcester) in 1002. In this letter Ælfric still styles himself *frater*,³² so his promotion to the abbacy can be dated as narrowly as 1002 X 1005.

At two points the text of the LME itself may bear on the issue of date, though the possible inferences conflict. In the preface Ælfric claims that the 'recent' establishment of the monastery has occasioned his present labour ('*quia nuper rogatu /Æpelm eri ad monachicum habitum ordinati estis*').³³ Standing prominently, as it does, at the head of the work, this remark probably accounts for the widespread association between the LME and the date of S 911. As already demonstrated, however, the establishment of a monastery (or whatever specific act is meant by *ad monachicum habitum ordinari*) cannot be simply equated with the issue of that charter. Once the date of S 911 is disallowed as a *terminus post quem*, Ælfric's adverb 'recently' retains value only as a very general indicator. A second internal clue at the end of the LME further complicates the matter: commending the Eynsham monks' practice of reading three lessons at the Office of Nocturns during the summer period (instead of the one required by Benedict's Rule), Ælfric notes affectionately that they have obeyed him in this matter 'for years now':

*Volo etiam uos scire, fratres karissimi, ualde gratum mihi fore quod obedienter mihi consensistis in hoc, ut tres lectiones cum totidem responsoriis rota aestate ad nocturnas sicut hieme iam preteritis annis tenuimus.*³⁴

The phrase *iam preteritis annis* suggests that Ælfric has been head of the community for some time. Given the indeterminate value of the

adverb *nuper* ('recently') in the preface, this latter clue offers the only firm internal evidence for the date of the text relative to the beginning of Ælfric's tenure as abbot.³⁵ Unless the part of the customary containing the phrase *iam preterites annis* (LME 80) was a later addition, Ælfric by his own account composed the document two or more years after his appointment. The shadow of doubt accordingly falls across the assumption that the customary must have been one of the first works Ælfric produced as abbot.³⁶ The LME is not an introduction to the monastic life, but an explanation of some of the finer points of the liturgy. The Eynsham monks could perhaps get by for a long time without such a document, especially with Ælfric present to guide by word and example. He may have committed this information to writing early on, as is often assumed, but it is equally possible that years passed between his arrival at Eynsham and the composition of the LME. An awareness, for example, that the end of his life was approaching might also have moved him to write down the kind of instructions he had been used to delivering orally and as needed.

Unfortunately, the assembled evidence weakens not one but two chronological mainstays (the date of Ælfric's transfer to Eynsham and the date of the LME itself) without providing any more satisfactory alternatives. One should, in any case, resist the assumption that the date of the LME necessarily corresponds to that of the charter, or that the writing of the LME must have immediately followed Ælfric's promotion. In the face of so many uncertainties, the date of 1005, qualified by an cautious *circa*, will have to suffice.

In addition to providing an approximate date for the LME, S 911 has also encouraged speculation that the circumstances attending the establishment of Eynsham were unusual. If in some respects Æthelmaer's refounding of Eynsham resembled his earlier activity at Cernel, in others the two occasions differed dramatically, for the Eynsham charter declares the ealdorman's intent to retire to his new foundation and spend the rest of his days there, 'acting as a father, living among [the monks] in community'.³⁷ This vow recurs in the Old English statement, apparently dictated by Æthelmaer himself, just before the witness list." The sort of retirement here proposed would not have been unusual for a wealthy, devout layman and offers the simplest explanation of Æthelmaer's motives in establishing the monastery. Other sources hint, however, that the causes of his retirement may not have been so pious. To judge from the evidence of charter witness lists, Æthelmaer had enjoyed the steady increase of King Æthelred's favour through the 990s and appears to have succeeded his father as

ealdorman at some point after the latter's death c. 998.³⁹ But soon after the turn of the millennium, the witness lists indicate dramatic changes among the ranks of ðEthelred's retainers. With the charters of 1005-6, the attestations of some of the king's closest associates disappear: ðEthelmoer, a kinsman and hitherto important advisor, retires suddenly to Eynsham; the minister Ordulf, uncle of the king, also retires, perhaps to his own family monastery at Tavistock.⁴⁰ The names of the important ministri Wulfgeat and Wulfheah also cease to appear, as does that of the latter's father, Ealdorman IElfhelm of Northumbria: the grim annal for 1006 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the fates of these three men.⁴¹ Considering who benefited from this apparent purge, Simon Keynes has argued that the upheavals at court may have been engineered by Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia (1007-17) and son-in-law of the king.⁴²

In such circumstances, it is hard to quell the suspicion that ðEthelmoer's retirement was somehow related to events at court, and that the founding of Eynsham represents either the shrewd anticipation of troubles ahead or the response to a fall from favour already complete. In either case, ðEthelmoer's withdrawal from public life may not have been entirely voluntary, and the likelihood that his plans to establish a monastery at Eynsham far anticipated the year 1005 decreases accordingly. Political pressures would also account for the location of the house of his retirement at Eynsham rather than in the territories of his father's ealdormanry. If retirement were his only aim, presumably the family monastery at Cernel would have been a more convenient choice. But ðEthelmoer's enemies at court would doubtless want to distance him from the seat of his family's power: perhaps the Oxfordshire site was dictated as one condition of withdrawal with life and honour intact.⁴³ If the younger ðEthelmoer, moreover, also had family connections to powers ascendant in Mercia,⁴⁴ his role in the refounding of Eynsham would hardly be a disinterested one. His offer of the monasterium at Eynsham could be seen as a move to facilitate his father-in-law's safe departure from court or, less commendably, as a favour to the king or to Eadric Streona (possibly his brother) as they chose a suitable place of retirement for ðEthelmoer outside the western shires. Admittedly, such reconstructions of motive remain entirely conjectural; nothing about the tone of the Eynsham charter itself hints of strife between ðEthelmoer and his son-in-law, much less between ðEthelmoer and the king. But it may be naive to assume that the protests of affection and pious motive in this highly conventional, public document tell the whole story.⁴⁵ If some controversy did attend ðEthelmoer's retirement to Eynsham and the job of drafting the charter fell to the

royal writing office, the amiable tone of S 911 would suit the interests of a king eager not to appear arbitrary or treacherous in his dealings with a kinsman and once-close advisor.⁴⁶ Conversely, if the charter was drawn up in the Eynsham scriptorium, the monks would be no less eager to put a good face on events that had left them in the awkward position of benefiting from their patron's misfortune while acting as the enforcers of his virtual exile.⁴⁷

Further considerations caution against taking the narrative portions of the charter at face value. Although I Ethelm2r's absence from the witness lists of charters after 1005 is consistent with a retirement from public life, no source explicitly confirms that he acted on the vow expressed in S 911. If he did, his retirement appears to have been only temporary: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that an Ealdorman I Ethelm er led the thegns of the western provinces to submit to Swein Forkbeard at Bath in 1013.⁴⁸ If this is indeed T Ethelmxr 'the stout', his re-emergence in these circumstances does little to thwart suspicions that his withdrawal in 1005 was not voluntary. The length of his retirement at Eynsham was at most seven to eight years.⁴⁹ If he did spend all eight intervening years at Eynsham, the impact of his presence on the community there can only be guessed. Even in the happiest circumstances, the presence of a powerful lay patron especially one determined to act 'as a father' (patris nice) to the monks could easily disrupt monastic discipline and subvert the abbot's authority. Conceivably, a retirement imposed from without would exacerbate whatever difficulties already inhered in the arrangement. The LME does not betray the existence of such tensions; indeed, it makes no mention of / Ethelmxr whatsoever, apart from the single reference to his role in the foundation, discussed above. Such reticence certainly accords with the practical nature of the work, since i Ethelm;er's presence would have little bearing on the liturgical customs that are the main business of the LME. But the fate of Y Ethelmxr will be a context worth recalling when we eventually turn to consider R-lfric's handling of the Re,rdaris Concordia and its political implications.⁵⁰

From this attempt to view the composition of the LME in its historical setting, more questions than answers have emerged. The combined data of S 911, the witness lists and the Chronicle do not tell a straightforward story, and the LME offers no explicit comment on contemporary events, however aware of them the monks must have been as they chanted their Offices. But an interpretation of Y E lfric's customary as a deliberate response both to its sources and to the needs of its historical moment requires sensitivity to such backgrounds,

however faint. The LME is the only complete English monastic customary extant from the period between the Regularis concordia and the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc (c. 1077), and the former, apparently conceived as a type of 'national customary', offers little perspective on any specific foundation. In the absence of significant comparanda, Ælfric's text frames a rare window on the life of a particular Anglo-Saxon monastery whose customs, like those of any house, were determined in part by the circumstances of its foundation, the numbers and relative experience of its community and, especially, the plan of its buildings and church, down to the number and location of side altars or chapels.⁵¹ The irony could hardly be greater, then, that so crucial a witness as the LME should emanate from a centre about which so little is otherwise known. From the time of the refoundation by Æthelmær c. 1005 until the Norman Conquest, the history of Eynsham Abbey is a virtual blank.⁵² The 'abbot and entire community of Eynsham' turn up in the witness list of a minor St Alban's charter (S 1425), the original of which is datable to 1050 x 1052, and this attestation is the only evidence of the community's continued existence through the mid-eleventh century.⁵³ The early thirteenth-century Magna vita of St Hugh of Lincoln reports that the monks still resident at Eynsham in 1066 abandoned the site during the Norman invasion, but that Bishop Remigius of Dorchester, later of Lincoln (1067-93), refounded the monastery, which was thereafter a dependency of the see of Lincoln.⁵⁴ There appears to have been no continuity between the Anglo-Saxon and Norman refoundations, although Remigius must have restored Eynsham before 1086, for the Domesday Book records the estates of his refounded monastery. Between 1091 and 1093 the monks were transplanted to another refounded site at Stow in Lincolnshire, but Remigius's successor, Robert Bloet, transferred them back to Eynsham, where the community prospered from 1094 until the formal dissolution of the house on 4 December 1539.⁵⁵

Structure and sources

GENERIC FEATURES

Like most monastic customaries, IElfric's Eynsham 'letter' assumes a great deal of prior knowledge on the reader's part. Indeed, as an abridgement of sources already dense and technical, the LME may well compound the interpretative challenges of the genre. Customaries also typically emphasize departures from everyday observance, so it is not surprising that i lfric gives the most details about customs peculiar to special days or seasons but has comparatively little to say about normal routines. Recognition of these generic qualities should discourage some unrealistic expectations of the 'letter', such as the assumption that fElfric is writing a kind of beginners' guide to the Benedictine life.' On the contrary, he is clearly addressing an audience with some experience of monastic liturgy and discipline. Even if, as he claims in the preface, his monks do not know the *Regularis concordia*,^z they would require considerable knowledge of St Benedict's Rule and much else simply in order to make sense of the 'letter'. The commentary that follows the present edition aims to unpack IElfric's tightly bundled instructions, to fill in the information that he assumes and to distinguish the unusual or problematic from the routine. The sheer amount of explanation needed to put us on more or less the same footing as EElfric's intended readers is instructive.

Because study of the details tends, however, to lose sight of the larger organization and emphases of the LME, the present chapter surveys these features and the extent of their correlation to 'Elfric's sources. The LME contains three major divisions: an epistolary preface (§ 1); the customary proper, based largely on the *Regularis concordia*, but with significant interpolations from the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz and other liturgical sources (§§ 2-69); and an extensive supplement that outlines the readings and responsories used in the Night Office (§§ 70-80).' This arrangement is straightforward enough; the real difficulties lie in the body of the second and third parts. There the context of many provisions, the rationale of their arrangement and the logic of transitions tend to fade in and out of view. Consultation of the fuller texts from which z'Elfric was working

is so necessary that study of the LME inevitably becomes, to a great extent, a study of its sources.

1ELFR[C AND THE REGULARIS CONCORDIA

By its arrangement and frequent verbatim borrowings from the Regularis concordia, fElfric's customary leaves little doubt that the *liber consuetudinum* cited in the preface' is the document drawn up by St fEthelwold and his fellow reform-minded bishops, abbots and abbesses and promulgated by King Edgar (957/9-975) in the early 970s.⁵ The LME_ repeatedly reminds its readers of this textual dependence by introducing quotations or paraphrases of the Concordia with tags such as 'consuetudo: ...' or *Iconsuetudo docet ...*⁶ These references serve a practical function, usually to signal a return to teaching based on the Concordia after an interpolation from another source. But they also call attention to 'the customary' as an authority, explicitly linked (in LME 1) to T-helwold, Winchester and, by association, the entire reforming tradition. Much more than bibliographical citations, these references in the text indirectly elevate 1Elfric's own credentials before his audience, whether within or beyond the walls of Eynsham.⁷

Modern scholarship has dealt at length with the cardinal events of the tenth-century reform or 'Benedictine revival', embracing the careers of IEthelwold, bishop of Winchester (963-84), Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury (961-88) and Oswald, archbishop of York (972-92), as well as King Edgar's reign and restoration of the monasteries, the expulsion of the clerks and foundation of monastic cathedrals.' This complex history cannot be rehearsed here, but some aspects of the reform and the contexts of the Regularis concordia demand review in as much as they bear immediately on the LME. R-lfric's choice of the Concordia as his principal source now seems obvious, given his close identification with the reform movement. Yet a careful look at what 'Elfric did to this source suggests that his choice, if inevitable, was not altogether convenient. However strong the attraction of the Concordia as a badge of loyalty to IEthelwold and his contemporaries, on a less abstract level i lfric seems to have found working with the text rather challenging. All who know the Concordia can bear witness that it is hardly a lucid document. No less a modern expert than Dom David Knowles could admit that, quite apart from the text's often difficult Latinity, 'the whole, though at first glance logically planned, abounds in repetitions, dropped threads, and paragraphs which appear to have been inserted without reference to the sequence of ideas', and that 'it only yields all its information after

careful and repeated inspection'.¹¹ In settling on this source AElfric had to address linguistic and structural difficulties, to be sure, but also practical and ideological ones that rendered the Concordia less than ideal for the needs of a small monastery in the early eleventh century.

IElfric's exemplar

A consideration of /Elfric's response to these challenges must first confront a more fundamental problem. i lfric's copy of the Regularis concordia has not survived, and the obscure textual history of that source does not allow confident assumptions about the exact form of his exemplar.¹² The Concordia survives complete in only two manuscripts. London, BL, Cotton Faustina B. iii, 159r-198v (+ Cotton Tiberius A. iii, 177r-v)," and London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, 3r-27v, were both copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the mid-eleventh century. The latter is by far the higher-status production, preserving the Regularis concordia (with an interlinear Old English gloss) as part of a larger collection of reformed-monastic texts, including the Regula S. Benedicti and four Carolingian supplements to it commonly found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.¹³ Each manuscript has served as the basis of at least one edition of the Concordia, and the disputed priority of one copy over the other has occasioned much debate.¹⁴ A collation of the two extant witnesses RC (Fa) and (Ti) raises difficult questions about the relationship of either version to a putative archetype. Their discrepancies cannot be enumerated here," but attempts to reconstruct a textual history that would fully explain the differences between the two manuscripts have met little success. Lucia Kornexl has offered the most plausible explanation by distinguishing IEthelwold's original draft of the text ('Urfassung' or 'Erstfassung') from later, presumably more polished stages. ¹⁵

For present purposes, Kornexl's hypothesis allows by implication that multiple versions of the text may have circulated, and that zElfric's copy might have differed in more than incidental ways from RC (Ti) and (Fa). ¹⁶ Where the LME disagrees with the two extant manuscripts of the Concordia, the latter may not represent the source exactly as i lfric knew it. Both copies of the Concordia and the single copy of the LME are, moreover, of mid-eleventh-century date and at an unknown number of removes from their originals, so distinguishing variants in Ufric's exemplar from subsequent copying errors is often impossible.' In a few instances, a reading preserved in the LME agrees with one manuscript of the Concordia against the other, but the

evidence of conjunctive readings does not yield any clear patterns of correspondence." Additional witnesses to the Concordia, including the anonymously compiled eleventh-century extracts titled *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* (= DEC), elucidate the problem only occasionally. 19

Because collation of the several Latin witnesses proves inconclusive, it is fortunate that Ælfric used the Concordia elsewhere in his writings. Faint echoes are present in his Catholic Homilies (First Series) for Candlemas and Palm Sunday.²⁰ More extensive use is evident in his description of the Offices of the Triduum in the LME, the pastoral letter to Wulfsgie (Brief I) and the second Old English pastoral letter to Wulfstan (Brief III), all of which draw from the same part of the Concordia and overlap to a great extent.²¹ The pastorals take certain details from the source that figure minimally or not at all in the LME, so the Old English letters are valuable witnesses to Ælfric's knowledge of other parts of the text.²² Each time he used the Concordia, he appears to have returned directly to the source rather than to one of his earlier treatments of it, for he tends to adapt the text in slightly different ways on each occasion. Speculation about the content of his exemplar must therefore take account of all available witnesses. When describing communion in the mass of the Easter Vigil, for instance, LME 46, RC (Fa) 77 and DEC 9 all omit the phrase, found in RC (Ti) 77, *et pacem non dare nisi qui communicant*. The common absence, along with Kornexl's arguments that the addition in (Ti) lacks authority,²³ leads to the reasonable conclusion that Ælfric's exemplar would not have contained the additional phrase. But in the teeth of all the evidence, the corresponding provision in the second Old English pastoral letter for Wulfstan appears to include part of the detail found in (Ti): *Ac ge ne scylan singan offerendan on kam dxge ne agnus dei ne communia ne gan to pacenz*.²⁴

Similarly, for his teaching on the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday,²⁵ Ælfric adapted RC 75 in slightly different ways for the letter to Wulfsgie (Brief 1.122-6), the LME (44) and the second Old English letter to Wulfstan (Brief III.50-4).²⁶ The versions agree in outline, and their common indebtedness to the wording of the Concordia is obvious. Some of their differences reflect nothing more than varying audiences: the Concordia and LME are monastic customaries, while the Old English pastoral letters take the form of an address to be delivered by a bishop to his secular clergy and therefore make (though not consistently) such substitutions as *preost* or *mcessepreost* for *abbas*.²⁷ Of greater weight is Ælfric's mention in all three texts of the corporal (the small square of linen placed on the altar beneath the bread and wine), which finds no analogue in the Concordia or the

DEC. Here the difficulty is of a different sort: the detail may derive from 11fric's exemplar or from a supplementary source, or it may be his own.²⁵ Also unaccounted for is his teaching that the unconsecrated wine brought from the sacristy shall be mixed with water (mixto uino' / `wine mid waetere gemenged'), a detail shared by the letter to Wulfsgie and the LME, but present in neither the Concordia nor the second Old English letter to Wulfstan. Rarely the two Old English pastorals may agree with the Concordia against the LME,²⁹ but the similarities between the LME and the second Old English letter to Wulfstan are consistently stronger - confirmation, perhaps, of their supposedly proximate composition (c. 1005 and 1006, respectively). 30

Most decisive are the few points at which all three of 'Elfric's texts agree against one or both manuscripts of the Concordia. On the manner in which the priest shall intone the various parts of the Lord's Prayer in the aforementioned communion service of Good Friday, the R.1frician texts all give specific instructions which, despite slightly varying terminology, impose a uniform practice. Yet the Concordia offers only one of the three directions (and that in only one manuscript):³

RC 75 (Ti only)	DEC (CCCC 190)	Brief I.123–4	LME 44	Brief III.51–2
<i>uoce sonora</i>	<i>uoce sonora</i>	<i>be sone</i>	<i>sonora uoce</i>	<i>be sone</i>
—	—	<i>digellice</i>	<i>secrete</i>	<i>fægre</i>
—	—	<i>blude</i>	<i>alta uoce</i>	<i>be sone</i>

The addition preserved in RC (Ti) could account for only the first of 'Elfric's points; the presence of the other two in all three texts strongly suggests, once again, a fuller exemplar or a supplementary source.³² Though so close a comparison is neither possible nor warranted in every instance where the LME and pastoralia overlap, the preceding examples demonstrate the risks in drawing conclusions about 'Elfric's exemplar solely from a comparison of the LME and extant manuscripts of the Concordia. Even when further evidence from the pastoral letters or homilies is available, reconstruction of 'Elfric's copy of the source remains unsure since he often adapted it differently from one occasion to the next.

Re-organization of the source

Kornexl's theory - that the extant versions of the Concordia transmit a stage or stages of a work in progress - might well explain that text's

occasionally troubled organization. Eethelwold may have intended to return to the work and smooth its rough edges, and perhaps did so in some versions that have not survived. In any case, the LME suggests that some frustration with the arrangement of the Concordia may not be an entirely modern symptom. Even if his exemplar did not look exactly like RC (Ti) or (Fa),³³ IElfric evidently re-arranged and rewrote parts of the source so completely that his dissatisfaction with the Concordia seems plain. His re-organization and synthesis of topics illustrate the intelligence and editorial skill familiar from his treatment of sources for the homilies, saints' lives and other works.

In the main, the LME follows the progression of topics in the Regularis concordia from its initial description of the monastic day through the many proper ceremonies of the liturgical year. IElfric's most significant modifications of the source's plan occur at the very beginning of his customary (LME 1-12). This portion corresponds generally to the first major division of the Concordia (RC 15-38), where the customary proper begins with the words *a Kalendis Octobris*³⁴ and proceeds to describe in detail a typical feria, then a typical feast day, in the winter horarium - including the various parts of the Divine Office, as well as periods for work (*obedientia*), reading (*lectio*) and meals. Chapter two of the Concordia (RC 39-44) then proceeds from 1 November, when, according to the Rule, the length and arrangement of various parts of the horarium undergo further change to accommodate the longer nights and shorter days of winter.³⁵ The chore of describing the monks' daily round is complicated not only by these seasonal adaptations, but by the more frequent variation between ferial and Sunday or festal arrangements, as well as by the large number of extra prayers and devotions that had crowded into the horarium since St Benedict's time.³⁶ With so many variables to consider, the opening segments of the Concordia must frequently digress and backtrack.³⁷

IElfric re-organizes and greatly simplifies most of this material. He begins, for example, by condensing the sequence of the diurnal Offices into the first few sentences of the customary:

*Kalendis enim Octobris, exceptis dominicis et festiuis diebus, primo diluculo prima canenda est cum septem psalmis et letaniis, deinde uacent lectionibus usquequo signum tertie insonuerit. Calceant se tune et lauent et orationes faciant - scola simul et seniores singillatim - et spargant se aqua benedicta. Finita tertia fiat prima missa, postea capitulum. Post sextam horam faciant missam de die, qua finita decantent nonam. Nam de ceteris regula sancta dicit.*³⁸

He omits the source's wordy description of the monks' rising and their devotions before Nocturns (RC 15-18) and, for the present, omits altogether the Offices of Nocturns and Lauds with their several supplementary devotions. Perhaps influenced by the Benedictine Rule's distribution of the psalms for the Office, he begins instead with Prime." j lfric then proceeds briskly through the horarium but alerts his readers from the outset that this is the order for ferias only.⁴⁰ The qualifying remark is another small but helpful modification of the Concordia, which does not acknowledge the ferial-festal distinction until far into its first chapter, where the reader must suddenly assimilate the new data to the already tortuous description. ⁴¹ The perceived abruptness of the turn highlights one of the weaknesses of this portion of the Concordia: the compiler does not separate the various components of the horarium for summary treatment, but attempts to describe in sequence all of the liturgical and extraliturgical activities of the day, from the monks' rising for Nocturns until their going to bed after Compline. Given the sheer number of activities and the author's expectation - apparent from the amount of detail he provides³² - that some of these will be unfamiliar to his audience, this plan buckles under its own weight. From the maze of detail no clear view of the horarium's structure emerges. The LME does not wholly escape the consequences of this disorienting arrangement," but zElfric does manage to unravel and follow the relevant threads with some consistency.

The brevity of IElfric's instructions for the remainder of the day - especially his laconic mention of Chapter (which merits a lengthy, separate description at RC 26) - suggests that all of this material is familiar to his audience, either from the Rule itself or from their own experience.⁴⁴ Although the preface states that the Eynsham monks do not know Iethelwold's customary,⁴⁵ 1 Elfric does presuppose their knowledge of the Rule and of certain devotional practices described in full by the Concordia.⁴⁶ He also assumes the monks will possess all or most of the necessary liturgical books and the skill to use them properly. ⁴⁷

Succeeding passages of the LME bring to light the further usefulness of zElfric's re-organization. After outlining the diurnal Offices, he pauses to treat summarily a number of supplementary devotions that the Concordia describes one by one, as they would actually occur through the day. For the first of these, the trina oratio (LME 3), consisting of varying psalms, prayers and collects recited at different times, iElfric compresses into a single sentence information that sprawls over four places in the source.⁴⁸ Following this summary, he

takes up another important set of devotions, the so-called *psalmi familiares* or *psalmi pro benefactoribus*⁴⁹ chanted after each of the liturgical hours (LME 4) for the monastery's friends and benefactors, including the king.⁵⁰ As prescribed by the LME, the devotion consists of two psalms (one for the king, plus one for the king and all benefactors), the Lord's Prayer, a series of short petitions (called *preces*) and a collect. Alfric's version of this custom differs in some interesting respects from that found in the *Concordia*,⁵ but it is his rearrangement of the material that is most striking. The provisions for the *trina oratio* were culled from four separate places, those for the *psalmi familiares* from as many as seven.² The *Concordia* introduces the first instalment of the devotion after Nocturns, specifying the particular psalms for this hour and three collects to be used every time the devotion is said.³ Following these instructions, the *Concordia* says, 'Et sic finitis omnibus regularibus horis semper agatur',⁵¹ obscuring the fact that the two psalms differ for each hour and that the collects quoted will not, it seems, be needed after Lauds, Vespers and Compline. These additional details only emerge gradually and dimly as the *Concordia* plods through the monastic day.⁴ Alfric's presentation begins with a one-sentence summary of the devotion's purpose, its placement in the horarium and its constituent parts.⁵⁵ Then follows a clear outline of the proper psalms and hours to which they are assigned; along the way Alfric states explicitly how the devotions are to terminate (i.e., with their own collect or, at Lauds, Vespers and Compline, with that 'of the hour').¹⁶ The essential features of the custom, however scattered in the source, are thus conveniently brought together in one place.

This practice of distillation continues, if less noticeably, through most of the early sections of LME that describe the horarium and its variations.⁵⁷ The details are further discussed in the commentary, but an overview of the opening segments of the LME in relation to the order of corresponding material in the source is given here in tabular form. Numbers refer to the sections of the present edition of the LME and the Symons-Spath edition of the *Concordia* in the CCM:

1 Ælfric's preface	—
2 diurnal order, from Prime	15, 22–6 and 33
3 <i>trina oratio</i>	17–18, 24 and 37–8
4 <i>psalmi familiares</i>	19, 21–2, 24, 33–4 and 37
5 Sunday/festal order	[26] and 27–8 ⁵⁸
6 five psalms after Chapter <i>pro defunctis fratribus</i>	32
7 Sunday confession	[28] and 27 ⁵⁹
8 communion on Sundays/feasts	29
9 admonitions ⁶⁰	—
10 matutinal mass intentions, Sundays and ferias	28 and 25
11 mass of the day, Friday and Saturday	31
12 votive antiphons of Holy Cross and BVM after Lauds and Vespers	21, 34 and 42

The relative successes and failures of A-Ifric's methods in this part of the LME are clear. The attempt at a lucid, summary presentation of the elements and variations of the horarium, if such was his design, appears to have broken down at LME 5, after which only occasional regroupings of points (as in LME 10 and 12) occur.

Subsequent portions of the LME do not demonstrate so complex a relationship to the Concordia as do these early sections. Beginning with his description of changes to the full winter horarium (1 November through Easter), zElfric follows the order of the source much more closely. The next segment (LME 13-15) moves to the full winter horarium 'a Calendis {sic} Nouembris', including an expanded overview of the winter hymnal (with proper hymns from Advent through Passiontide) .6 1 But extensive interpolations of this sort remain the exception in the LME, and IElfric's adherence to the Concordia carries through to the following segments: the description of customs proper to the period from Advent to Candlemas (LME 16-25) and, more fully still, from Septuagesima through Easter (LME 26-48).⁶² Among the details of these latter seasons, . Ifric interjects teaching from the Liber officialis of Amalarius of Metz and from other sources,⁶³ but without disturbing the essential order of provisions from the Concordia. The ten weeks from Septuagesima through the Easter Octave, with their complex variations in the liturgy, required particularly careful exposition, and EElfric's allotment of so much space to these seasons mirrors the emphases of both the Concordia and Ama- larius.⁶⁴

After the liturgical climax of Easter, the LME, like the Concordia, lapses into a less detailed survey of the transition to the summer

horarium (LME 49-54). 'Elfric continues to follow the source (RC 81-91), but with greater freedom than in preceding sections. Again he fleshes out the skeletal order of hymns provided by the Concordia,⁶⁵ but otherwise the LME proceeds quite casually through a number of topics, only some of which are directly tied to the seasons after Easter and Pentecost.⁶⁶ Despite the occasional pooling of instructions to good effect,⁶⁷ by its end the work resembles only a gathering of miscellaneous points. Interestingly, it is to these negligible surroundings that 'Elfric relegates (at LME 63-4) his only direct borrowings from 'Ethelwold's ostentatious, politically charged proem to the Concordia.⁶⁸ The customary proper of the LME concludes, like the Concordia, with directions for the care of the dying or recently deceased members of the community, the circulation of the breue and confraternal obligations (LME 65-9).⁶⁹ If 'Elfric knew the so-called epilogue to the Concordia (an exemption of monasteries from the tax known as the heriot), he did not use it.⁷⁰

Evaluating 'Elfric's adaptations

Many departures from the Concordia suggest differences of substance between the two texts, their respective audiences and the circumstances of their composition. Some of 'Elfric's changes, like his aforementioned tendency to regroup instructions, accord with the aim of clarifying or expanding received material. The expansions are of particular importance for the historical study of liturgy, since evidence about the details of the Office in Anglo-Saxon monasteries is scarce.⁷¹ Because 'Elfric usually followed the Concordia rather closely, however, the worth of the LME as an independent liturgical witness has more often than not been undervalued. Only its most conspicuous departures - such as the outline of the monastic hymnal or the supplement on the readings and responsories for the Night Office - have featured prominently in studies of Anglo-Saxon liturgy. The importance of these additions is beyond dispute, but the LME contains many quieter modifications of the source which also repay careful study. The identification of differences, no matter how slight, recalls that agreement between 'Elfric and the Concordia cannot be taken for granted. And even where substantial differences are not at stake, 'Elfric's decisions about what his audience does and does not need to be told shed light on his expectations and theirs.

Additions to the source

Many additions seemingly prompted by a lack of detail in the source do not indicate exceptional practices at Eynsham. Ielfric's outlines of the order of winter and Paschaitide hymns (LME 13 and 50, respectively), for example, and his quotation of the full series of antiphons for the second Nocturn of Vigils from Septuagesima through Lent (LME 26) expand the corresponding but meagre provisions of the *Concordia*.⁷³ For these additions Ielfric drew on outside liturgical sources, most likely the hymnal and antiphoner directly. The mere fact of expansion does not reveal Ielfric's motive; if the community's hymnal and antiphoner were seriously defective, common sense would seem to urge correction of the liturgical books themselves. Even complete books, on the other hand, could be difficult to use because of confusing organization or faulty rubrics, or because an arrangement once correct had become obsolete with changes in liturgical fashion. Since he provides only incipits, Ielfric seems concerned to revise or correct the use of existing texts in already available books. Other additions sent Ielfric to quite different sources. His teaching at LME 55 on the relative precedence of major feasts and Sundays when these coincide (or 'occur'), though not without precedent in monastic customaries, does not come from the *Concordia*. More noticeably, he also draws from Amalarius's *Liber officialis* to supplement the virtual silence of the *Concordia* regarding observance of pre-Lent (LME 26-8),⁷⁴ and uses the same treatise to explain and emphasize the importance of Lent, Passion Sunday (not mentioned at all in the *Concordia*), Palm Sunday and the triduum sacrum (LME 29-46). He also adds material that his monks, from a strictly practical viewpoint, do not need, such as a fulsome explanation of the Chrism Mass (LME 39), which would not have taken place at Eynsham.⁷⁴

Most of these additions confirm or vaguely imply that Ielfric's liturgy was what the available evidence suggests was typical for an early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon monastery touched by the influence of the 'Benedictine revival'. Of similar weight is the appended supplement (LME 70-80) to the customary proper, outlining the readings and responsories for the Night Office. The order of lections there represented is closely related to *Ordo romanus XIII A*, which was certainly known in late Anglo-Saxon England.⁷⁵ As in his outline of the hymnal, Ielfric's provision here of incipits only presupposes that the texts and music are already available in some form. Even so, the need to discuss at length such basic features of the Office might raise questions about the training of the Eynsham monks and their access to up-to-date and well-ordered liturgical books.⁷⁶

The loss of IElfric's exemplar of the source urges caution when speaking of 'changes' to it, let alone 'his changes'. The following remarks build on the cautious premise that IElfric's copy of the Regularis concordia, while it probably was not identical to, at least did not differ radically from the version of the text known to us from RC (Ti) and (Fa). During his years as a monk at the Old Minster, IElfric would have [witnessed for himself many of the customs described in the Concordia,](#)' so memory, too, could compensate for possible deficiencies in his exemplar. From everything that is known of his working methods, however, his omissions from the Concordia are more likely to reflect deliberate editorial choices. In the preface 'Elfric clearly states that the LME is, like most of his known writings, [an abridgement and synthesis of authorities.](#)" If his exemplar resembled the two extant copies of the source, then IElfric's omissions fall into two groups: (1) those permitted by an assumption that his audience is already acquainted with monastic life, Benedict's Rule, the elements of the Office and the proper use of liturgical books; and (2) omissions that suggest actual divergence from the practices laid down in the Concordia.

It bears repeating that no customary was meant to serve as a wholly self-sufficient text, but to codify and regulate aspects of the monastic life about which Benedict's Rule is silent. In his preface and twice elsewhere, IElfric obliquely reminds the reader of his text's function ancillary to the Rule (at LME 1, 2 and 55), which he otherwise takes for granted. His reorganization of the opening chapter of the Concordia, discussed above, refers to the diurnal hours in the most general terms in order to devote more care to the supplemental devotions." He does not mention the monks' rising for Nocturns or, for that matter, the entire period from Nocturns to Lauds (cf. RC 15-16 and 20-1); similarly absent are the Offices of Vespers and Compline (cf. RC 34 and 36-8).⁸⁰ Given that the Benedictine cursus horarum and the divisions of the psalter are amply treated in the Rule, IElfric drops the thread after listing the hours from Prime to None and refers his readers to that text." Later, where the Concordia pauses to outline the summer horarium (RC 83), IElfric's customary offers no comparable summary, although relevant instructions are inserted elsewhere.¹² The LME rarely mentions such essential activities as work (obedientia) or meals (prandium, cena or mensa).^{S3} The important rule of silence from Vespers to Chapter on the following day, as well as during periods for lectio, is merely implied.⁸⁴

Absent, too, are certain customs not contained in the Rule but widespread by the later tenth century. The daily routine at Chapter,

not explicitly given in the Rule, is outlined at RC 26 in such detail as to suggest, if not the introduction of new customs, at least the standardization of existing ones.⁸⁵ Other liturgical forms are omitted, it seems, because they are presumed known or written down in obvious, accessible places. At LME 4, for example, zElfric leaves out the texts of the psalmi familiares collects quoted in full at RC 19 and 37.⁸⁶ Similarly, for the elaborate description of the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, including the long devotional prayers quoted in extenso at RC 73, 'Ufric substitutes the terse instructions *`deportetur crux ante altare a cantoribus cantantibus uersus et cetera, ut omnes eam per ordinem saluent'*.⁸⁷ The chants or uersus mentioned would be found in the gradual (the mass antiphoner), and perhaps additional instructions in the rubrics of the sacramentary.⁸⁸ Again, in place of the full outlines of lections, chants and prayers for the Vigils of Easter and Pentecost (RC 77 and 88), 'Elfric simply refers his readers to the sacramentary and (implicitly) the ⁸¹ gradual.

More significant, however, are those omissions from AEthelwold's customary that point to actual differences in practice.⁹⁰ Although fElfric saw the Concordia as a useful model, he was not at all timid about adapting and supplementing the source where necessary. In the preface he claims, with a hint of pride, that to observe all of the customs of YEthelwold's Winchester, his own alma mater, would be too much for his present charges.⁹¹ Behind his avowedly paternal concern must also lie a practical awareness that recently refounded Eynsham could not vie with Winchester in splendour or resources. Certain observances are therefore shorter and less demanding; roles are doubled and clerical ranks, where not of immediate consequence, left unspecified. IElfric's brief instructions concerning the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, for example, suggest a much simpler ceremony, perhaps without the lengthy private devotions recommended in the Concordia. Nor, in the same ceremony, does he assign the antiphonal singing of the uersus to deacons and subdeacons as in the source, but to two unspecified cantors,⁹² and he omits altogether the rite of 'burying' the cross (*depositio crucis*) that immediately follows in the Concordia (RC 74).⁹³ Practical considerations, such as the length of the Night Office or the number of available participants at Eynsham, may also have prompted Alfric to leave out one of the most celebrated passages in the Concordia, the so-called *Visitatio sepulchri* 'play' at Easter Nocturns.⁹⁴ He quite naturally omits a further provision allowing additional time for the monks to wash and shave on Good Friday, 'if the number of the community is so great that Saturday, the next day, would not suffice for this'.⁹⁵ Such would obviously not be the case at Eynsham.

Interpreting other apparent omissions requires greater caution. Unlike the Concordia, for instance, the LME does not indicate the presence of a lay congregation at the mass of the day;⁹⁶ but to conclude from this that laymen were not present or that Eynsham priests served no parochial functions clashes with other indications in the text.⁹⁷ Ælfric also omits a reference to the wearing of chasubles by the priest, deacon and subdeacon at mass during Lent and on Ember Days; the absence could suggest that either this provision from the Concordia has become commonplace or is being suppressed deliberately. ⁹⁸ Another equivocal silence concerns the officer known as the *circa*, whose duties are the subject of an entire chapter in the Concordia (RC 86-7), but of whom Ælfric says nothing. Far more significantly, for unstated reasons the LME departs from its source on the recommended frequency of receiving holy communion: Ælfric urges reception on Sundays and feasts only (LME 8), the Concordia daily (RC 29).⁹⁹ Other unexplained departures include a shortening of the period in the year during which a procession takes place before the principal mass on Wednesdays and Fridays (ending 14 September instead of 1 October) and the chanting of the fifteen gradual psalms (Pss. CXIX-CXXXIII) upon the death of a brother in confraternity (instead of the seven penitential psalms designated by the Concordia). 100

Finally, whether considering Ælfric's additions or omissions, it should be remembered that pragmatic reduction was not his only concern. On one major point the LME sets a higher standard than its sources do - not just the Concordia, but St Benedict himself. Thus in the summer period, when the Rule prescribes only one reading at Nocturns on ferias, Ælfric retains three (LME 80).¹⁰¹ Such rigour befits Ælfric, whose pragmatism never lost sight of, and in some cases raised, the standards of the monastic reform that he had inherited.

Further responses and changing ideas of 'reform'

The preceding summary has compared the Concordia and LME according to their shared function: to convey detailed instructions about the liturgy. It is well known, however, that the Regularis concordia represented much more than a functional guide. Both in its lengthy proem and in certain features of the customary proper, the Concordia was also a monument to the religious and political ideology of Æthelwold and the dominant parties of the tenth-century reform movement. 'Reform' from its beginnings was a complex and pliable notion, and even its three great proponents, Dunstan, Æthelwold and

Oswald, appear to have fostered their own individual standards.¹⁰² Certain common emphases, however, stand out among tenth-century sources: a uniform observance of the Benedictine Rule in all English monasteries; the professed cultivation of royal over local aristocratic patronage; a harsh polemic against secular clerks and their expulsion from some cathedral chapters and minsters; the 'restoration' of a monastic episcopacy as witnessed by Bede in the 'golden age' of the Anglo-Saxon church; and, fuelled by that nostalgia, a pride in the 'native' element in Anglo-Saxon [monasticism relative to continental trends of revival and liturgical embellishment](#).³

All of these themes have been detected, in one form or another, in the Concordia, and yet all of them are muted in, or simply absent from, Ælfric's customary. If, in fact, the LME were the only surviving witness to the Concordia, our impressions of the latter would be much distorted. Apart from his prefatory acknowledgement of Æthelwold's role in drafting the Concordia, Ælfric's pride in the living legacy of reform is curiously non-specific. This could be the result of a pragmatic mind at work: the politics and polemic of the source were not, after all, essential to the yearly round of work and prayer at Eynsham. But a closer look at the vast difference in attitude between the two works might perceive in Ælfric's editorial decisions some compromise between his master's ideologically pure programme of the 970s and the realities of the new millennium. Recent study of Ælfric's writings in their historical and literary contexts has emphasized their singularity not just against 'unreformed' traditions, but within the reform movement itself. While he might not parade his dissent, Ælfric was not timid about asserting his own standards where he felt those of his colleagues to be inadequate, especially touching the authority of written sources.¹⁰³ The same rigorist impulse extended to liturgical practice, as already seen in his retention of three readings in the summer Night Office. A comparable exercise of independent judgement about politics, as they impinged on the welfare of the church and Christian society, may explain the most conspicuous omission of all from the source. ¹⁰⁵

Despite its designation as a 'proem', the introduction that Æthelwold penned for the Concordia (RC 1-14) is no empty preface, but a manifesto outlining some essential policies of the reform movement. It lays particular emphasis on the marriage of reformed-monastic and royal interests: the king shall sanction and protect the monks' endeavours, and uniformity of monastic observance shall be a national political concern. The monks, for their part, shall support the royal house with their [prayers, specifically the psalmi familiares](#) after

every Office. A further, unwritten benefit to King Edgar may have been the expansion of royal patronage - and the loyalties it purchased - to areas whose control had traditionally been the prerogative of regional aristocracies. Thus the Concordia absolutely prohibited *saecularium prioratus* 'the lordship of laypersons', commending in its place '*regis tantummodo {sic} ac reginae dominium ad sacri loci munimen et ad aecclesiasticae possessionis augmentum*'. 106

Part of this emphasis on the royal house does inform the LME. / Elfric clearly retains the psalmi familiares with the rubric 'pro rege et benefactoribus' (LME 4),¹⁰⁷ but the distribution of collects and intentions, which in the source heavily favour the king over the queen and benefactors, is not specified and so, perhaps, effectively levels the distinctions among them. Similarly, where the source specifies that the matutinal mass on ferias shall be 'for the king or whatever impending need' (RC 25), /Elfric suppresses the former option. ¹⁰⁸ But it is the near-total avoidance of matter from the proem to the Concordia that most undercuts /Ethelwold's celebration of the king as patron and protector of monks. From the entire proem, 1Elfric excerpted only two provisions: one against lay dominion (LME 63) and one forbidding laymen to eat in, or monks to eat outside, the refectory (LME 64). Both provisions are, in some practical sense, relevant to the good order of a monastery, but i lfric's effort to disengage them from their original programmatic context is evident in their thorough revision and relegation to the miscellaneous catch-all section near the end of his customary. ¹⁰⁹ His treatment of the issue of lay control over monasteries also differs suggestively from that in the Concordia-proem by stating that the monks shall recognize the king's dominion 'ad munimen loci, non ad tirannident'.¹¹⁰ The proem could have supplied the first, but not the second half of the phrase. The derivation of z'Elfric's wording here is complicated by the presence of a very similar phrase in the Eynsham 'foundation charter' and in one other charter.¹ ' But the formulaic ring of the words does not void the possibility that they are cited at LME 63 with pointed intent. 1Elfric probably found many details in the proem irrelevant to the running of Eynsham, yet he may also have taken a quietly skeptical view of its royalist and polemical zeal, which must have seemed less convincing, if not, at times, outright embarrassing, to some early eleventh-century heirs of reform. Relationships between the church and secular powers (including the king) had been less than ideal since Edgar's death in 975. The royal-monastic partnership suffered from a deeply divisive succession dispute between Edgar's two sons, Edward the Martyr and Ethelred,' " and from a simultaneous 'anti-monastic' backlash. The latter is now commonly viewed less as an 'anti-monastic' movement

than as a re-assertion of aristocratic privileges, among them control over monastic estates that had been appropriated as part of Edgar's benefactions to the monks.' 13

In this troubled period Ælfric remained a monk at Winchester, where his spiritual and intellectual formation would have been already far advanced.' 14 There, until his transfer to Cernel (c. 987), he was well placed to observe the monastic theology of kingship undergo gradual changes that quietly distanced the monks' fortunes from those of a ruler less popular and, in some cases, less dependable than Edgar had been.' 15 Although (Ethelred 11 (978-1016) favoured and enriched many monasteries during his long rule, for a period of several years after the death of Æthelwold in 984, the monarch reduced the privileges and alienated the property of some of the most venerable churches in the kingdom, including Abingdon, the Old Minster, Glastonbury and the see of Rochester."6 These actions in no way amounted to a wholesale reversal of monastic patronage, but they must have alerted the second generation of reformers to the precariousness of too great a dependence on royal support. When, in the late 980s, Scandinavian raids followed close upon this early souring of the royal-monastic partnership, the king's critics within the church did not hesitate to view the events as cause and effect. When Ælfric himself implicitly rebukes Æthelred for failing to ward off the attacks, his criticism is, tellingly, couched in nostalgic praise of Edgar. As a postscript to his *Life of St Swithun*, Ælfric draws an implicit comparison between the two kings, the point of which is that Edgar's unwavering support of the monks had kept foreign enemies at bay during his reign.117 (Ethelred emerges the obvious loser by the comparison. In another homily, also from the *Lives of Saints*, Ælfric strengthens the contrast in an often-quoted passage:

Wet we magon geþencan hu wel hit ferde mid us, þa his igland
wæs wunigende on sibbe, and munuc-lif weron mid wuriscipe
gehealdene, and 8a woruld-menn wxron wið heora fynd, swa h)æt
ure word sprang wide geond has eoroan. Hu wæs hit 6a siMan 6a pa
man towearp munuc-lif, and godes biggengas to bysmore hxfde,
buton fiat us com to cwealm and hunger, and sic c3an hx6en here us
hxfde to bysmyre. s` s

The reference (from 'Hu wæs hit . . .') is probably to the 'anti-monastic reaction' in the reign of Edward the Martyr. That the sufferings of the nation continue into the present, however, only underscores that the monks' injuries remain unredressed under

Ethelred.1'9 Less obviously, the passage may recall that the present king, too, had done injury as one who 'overthrew monasteries' (to wearp munuclif).

The actual experience of 'royal dominion' by the turn of the millennium bore only an erratic resemblance to the ideal that confronted JElfric and his contemporaries in the proem to the Concordia. Royalism may, for that matter, have been a malleable principle from the start. Just as the 'anti-monastic reaction' did not likely object to monasticism as such, the earlier royal-monastic partnership had never excluded - and had, in fact, greatly depended on - the participation of powerful lay magnates and lesser nobles.' 20 While Edgar was still alive, St Oswald was busy cultivating the patronage of Ealdorman 'Ethelwine of East Anglia, who would donate the site and much of the endowment for Oswald's monastery at Ramsey.121 Clearly, aristocratic patrons and protectors proved no less desirable than kingly ones, so long as they did not try to replace monastic with secular communities or intrude themselves or their relations as lay-abbots. 'Elfric's mature career owed much to aristocratic patronage: his immediate benefactors, Ealdorman Thelweard and his son, Ethelmar, endowed both foundations where he spent his career after leaving Winchester. From Cernel, the first of these, Alfric was transferred to Eynsham where I Ethelmar personally appointed him abbot.122 iElfric probably felt a special allegiance, personal and political, to I Ethelweard and his son, and to the king only indirectly. The political causes (if such they were) of I Ethelmar's retirement to Eynsham would also have coloured 'Elfric's perception of royal authority. 121 Other works from late in his career convey firm disapproval of kthelred's reign in general and of the violent politics of 1005-6 in particular.' The LAI E belongs, roughly, to this more outspokenly 'political' phase in 'Elfric's work, as does the remarkable text beginning 'Wyrðwriteras us secgao'. This fragmentary treatise commends the sharing of military and political responsibilities between king and ealdorman, just as between David and Joab, Moses and Joshua, or Constantine and Gallicanus.1`5'Elfric's exact motives in the piece are uncertain, although its potential relevance to contemporary politics is hard to overlook.126 Its argument establishes the figures of Joab, Joshua and the rest as types of the Christian ealdorman. In this way 'Wyrðwriteras' may intend to pay indirect homage to lElfric's patrons and incidentally justify his loyalties, perhaps because they do not lie altogether where earlier polemic, including YEthelwold's proem, demanded they ought.

The language of 'royal dominion' was not the only feature of the

proem from which iElfric might wish to retreat. Another sensitive issue may have been that the LME was admittedly something less ambitious than the Regularis concordia. IElfric's decision to compose the LME in the first place, rather than simply impose the source as written, amounted to a compromise of the strict liturgical uniformity that the Concordia had been designed to achieve. 1 27 The imperial pretensions of Edgar's reign went hand in hand with 'Ethelwold's zeal for total unity in worship and religious discipline, all in self-conscious imitation of Carolingian models.1 ' How widely and with what success the resulting 'national customary' was ever imposed on Anglo-Saxon monasteries remain disputed questions. Some critics have viewed the mere existence of the LME as evidence that, even if the ideal of uniformity enshrined in the Concordia was an actual intention, it did not long outlive the drafters of that document.129 If the difference between the theory and practice of royal dominion troubled 1Elfric, the closely associated rhetoric of liturgical uniformity may have sounded equally hollow and impractical. We have already seen that such changes as AElfric introduced can hardly be described as scandalous; more often, they bespeak a sound judgement that the Concordia required adaptation if it was to serve at Eynsham. But his position was made awkward by (among other things) the proem's account of an oath, sworn in council by those who drafted the Concordia, to maintain without variance the customs therein adopted.130 That council not only imposed this strict adherence to the document; it also forbade any subsequent additions or modifications, except those adopted temporarily for urgent need, or by the consent of a future synod.131 The mandate was doubly solemn, in as much as it made the issue of uniformity a matter of holy obedience, the cornerstone of Benedictine monasticism. ,Elfric had little choice but to omit an emphasis that would contradict his present efforts and, more seriously, threaten the credibility he enjoyed by styling himself as 'Ethelwold's faithful disciple.

Still other emphases of the reform movement, such as the nostalgia for a Bedan golden age, with its monastic episcopacy, or the interest in distinguishing an 'English' character of reform amidst the infusion of so many continental customs, find only oblique expression in the LME. 1Elfric's general reticence here, as on matters of politics, reflects the practical nature of his customary. The few discernible traces of these concerns only remind us that a reformer could, at the turn of the millennium, take for granted what had been controversial one or two generations earlier. In addition to zElfric's scholarly interest, the successful re-establishment of a monastic episcopacy, for example, probably lies behind his otherwise strange inclusion of a pontifical

rite, the Chrism Mass (LME 39), in a customary not intended for a monastic cathedral. Similarly, his comparative lack of pride in specifically 'English' customs - such as sustained bell-ringing on important feasts, mentioned at LME 22 and 58 (cf. RC 50) - sounds not a less patriotic note but a less defensive one, as though many of the foreign practices imported from the Continent and enshrined in the Concordia are, after a generation, sufficiently patriated that the 'English' character of reform need not depend on a few relatively trivial customs.¹ iz

Stylistic changes

More obviously than in matters of liturgy or politics, IElfric parted company with many of his fellow reformers over the issue of Latin prose style. Michael Lapidge has demonstrated that cultivation of a difficult 'hermeneutic' Latinity was a hallmark of learning among the leaders of reform and their disciples. Here again, as in other aspects of the movement, /Elfric went his own distinctive way. Seemingly alone among later tenth-century Anglo-Latin authors, he rejected exotic vocabulary, overly long sentences and convoluted word order."³⁴ He was a competent Latinist, however, to judge from his compositions in that language and his bilingual Grammar, and from the depth of understanding manifest in his translations of Latin sources.'³⁵ The style of his Latin compositions has been praised for its 'brevity, clarity, and simplicity'³⁵ - the very qualities that readers of his Old English homilies would be prone to detect. If hermeneutic Latin was the preferred mode among the reforming elite, IElfric's departure from the norm cannot represent a casual decision. As Lapidge concludes, JElfric very likely wrote plain Latin for the same pragmatic reasons he wrote extensively in Old English: to bring before the widest possible audience the fruits of his learning. 136

For his much-studied Old English style, iElfric had a model in IEthelwold, whose translation of the Benedictine Rule shows a clarity and restraint untouched by the hermeneutic excesses typical of his Latin writings.¹³⁷ iEthelwold's segregation of styles appropriate to each language established that a simple vernacular was the fit medium for teaching the unlearned (who included monks and clergy). zlftric accepted but modified this view by narrowing the artificial disparity between an unadorned vernacular and an over-adorned Latin style. His mentor's rather plain Old English he improved by experimenting with rhythmical cadences, alliteration and the occasional 'poetic' word.)" His Latin shows no inclination towards full-blown 'hermeneuticism', though he sometimes attempts longer, self-

Because of its technical nature, the LME is not the best choice of texts in which to consider Iľric's Latin style. But it serves very well to illustrate his methods as a redactor of Latin texts, and this issue is of first importance in the evaluation of the LME as liturgical evidence. The Concordia presented Iľric with a range of styles, from the hermeneutic to the plain.¹³⁰ The distinction is strongest between the elevated register of the proem and (in RC (Ti) only) the epilogue, on one hand, and the language of the customary proper, on the other.' Quite apart from its content, the proem to the Concordia, on stylistic grounds alone, would hardly have commended itself to Iľric.¹⁴⁰ Fortunately, the body of the Concordia was, for the most part, written in a less obscure style that clearly reflects the language of its liturgical sources. Pervasive stylistic features of liturgical ordines are a heavy reliance on jussive subjunctive verbs (and these often in the passive voice) and the presentation of a sequence of actions by a string of qualifying phrases at the head or tail of a main clause. The latter tendency is most apparent in the heaping up of ablative absolutes, temporal clauses, prepositional phrases and predicative participles to describe the circumstances or sequence of events that shall precede, attend or follow the main action, as in: 'Hoc expleto, facto signo a priore, conuenientes ad capitulum, ipso precedente, uersa facie ad orientem salutent crucem';¹⁴³ or 'Tota namque aestate, exceptis dominicis et festiuis diebus, Prima decantata matutinalique missa celebrata capitulo etiam peracto pulsetur tabula.'¹⁴⁴ These are extreme examples, but they illustrate features of style characteristic of the Concordia and of ordines generally. They also demonstrate that, even where no hermeneutic elements are present, the density of the source demanded careful attention.

The LME does not depart radically from this typical ordo-style Latin, probably because the two texts are so similar in content. Frequent verbatim quotation indicates that „Iľric was often satisfied with the wording he found in the source.¹⁴⁵ Just as often, however, he opts for simple paraphrase or abridgement to avoid difficult vocabulary and word order.¹⁴⁶ While the goal of 'simplification' in this limited, grammatical sense cannot account for all of Iľric's changes," brevity and clarity, whether in Latin or Old English, were paramount. As a typical example, consider his changes to RC 40, a custom providing the monks a place of warmth and refuge during the winter (italics indicate lexical and syntactic parallels):

Ab eisdem kalendis [*scil.* Nouembris] *concedatur fratribus accessus ignis*, dum *necessitas compulerit* et *frigoris nimietas incubuerit* . . . In huius quoque hiemis tempore propter nimiam imbrium asperitatem locus aptus fratribus designetur, cuius <cecaumenes> refugio hibernalis aloris et intemperiei aduersitas leuigetur. *Si autem temperies tranquilla fuerit, claustro* uti libuerit cum Christi benedictione utantur.¹⁴⁸

Brumali uero tempore *concedatur fratribus accessus ignis*, si *necessitas compulerit* . . . Et si *frigoris nimietas incubuerit*, in domo legant omnes simul et canant. *Si autem temperies tranquilla aderit*, sedeant pariter omnes in *claustro*.¹⁴⁹

,Elfric has broken up the redundant compound verb of the opening dum- clause and used each member separately to introduce two conditionals, one on the privilege of the *accessus ignis*, and another on the place appointed for the monks' refuge. On the latter point, he rejects the verbosity of the source ('*nimiam imbrium asperitatem ... hibernalis aloris et intemperiei aduersitas*') and the bizarre grecism *cecaumenes* (or whatever form occurred in his exemplar).¹⁵⁰ Perhaps by having his monks 'sit' in rather than 'use' the cloister, he also disposes of the easily misconstrued *uti* (= *ut*) so close to the ablative object ('*claustro*') of *utantur*'.

The LME offers numerous instances of abbreviation similarly prompted by the long-windedness of the source. Often only a glance at the corresponding passages in the Concordia will explain the desire for a more lucid text.¹⁵¹ IElfric also took special care with word order, unravelling some of the more affected arrangements: thus, at LME 33, he replaces the source's '*agant tacitas genu flexo more solito preces*' (RC 61) with '*agant tacitas preces, flexis genibus, solito more*'. The revision uses all of the same words but avoids postponement of the direct object and changes the number of *genuflexo*, perhaps better to distinguish, by dissimilar endings, the individual ablative phrases from each other.

IElfric's method also occasionally suggests an effort to distinguish primary from circumstantial actions in the liturgy, even when the result was a grammatically more complex sentence. A tendency, for example, to cluster adverbial information at the head of his rewritten version¹⁵² leads once to the subordination of what stood as an independent clause in the source:

Et intrantes aecclesiam agant orationem
cum antiphona et collecta ad *uenera-*
tionem ipsius sancti cui ecclesia ipsa ad
quam itur dedicata est. Deinde abbas stola
*et cappa indutus benedicat candelas . . .*¹⁵³

Et decantata antiphona cum oratione
in *ueneratione ipsius sancti cui ecclesia*
illa ad quam itur dedicata est, benedicat
abbas, indutus stola et cappa, candelas
*. . .*¹⁵⁴

IELfric's use of subordination may convey more clearly the hierarchy of actions as he perceived it. The information of the first sentence in the Concordia has been converted into a long ablative absolute (with its own dependent members) describing the circumstances attending the central act, the abbot's blessing of the candles. 155

Other parts of the LME, by contrast, reveal a freer engagement of the Concordia and its language: at many points where IELfric did not have to intervene for the sake of brevity or clarity, he frequently did. If such differences do not simply reflect variants in his exemplar of the Concordia, they would seem to indicate stylistic preferences. At least ten times, for example, his rewriting calls for a substitution of finite for infinite verbs,¹⁵⁶ or of active for passive constructions.¹⁵⁷ These changes might suggest the influence of Old English syntax, but IELfric's practice in totality is by no means consistent enough to reveal the contours of a vernacular substrate. ¹⁵⁸ His methods of rewriting the Concordia cannot finally be reduced to simple formulas, for he ranged widely, and not always predictably, between quotation and paraphrase. Perhaps the Concordia in particular, because of its length, complex structure and varying levels of style, discouraged a uniform editorial method.

If there is a consistent feature of his method in the LME (and in all Latin writings attributed to /ELfric), it is a strong tendency to re-use the language of the source. As may be seen from the parallel passages quoted above, this appears to have been done by excising words or phrases, discarding the unwanted scraps, then splicing the retained pieces together, touching up the morphology and syntax as required. To describe the technique of Y'ELfric's abridged Vita S. ,Ethelwoldi, Lapidge has used a similar metaphor: "ELfric) need have done no more than draw a red pencil (so to speak) through the words in Wulfstan's text which he regarded as superfluous and then copy the remainder. He need hardly have altered a word."⁵⁹ The occasionally mechanical appearance of this method is one of the most significant differences between 'ELfric's compositions in Latin and in Old English. The process of translation demanded a more active and analytical approach, but his Latin-to-Latin compositions seem to have favoured

`short-cuts' that did not always yield good grammar or logical transitions. Some of the liturgically problematic features of the LME look very much like the results of an uncritical or over-hasty reliance on a source's wording.¹⁶⁰ The method would also explain some grammatically and organizationally awkward points, where IElfric has imperfectly fused together provisions from separate parts of the source or transplanted irrelevant details along with the relevant.¹⁶¹

A LFRIC AND THE LIBER OFFICIALIS

More than any other single feature, the interpolation of liturgical commentary from the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz' ⁶² distinguishes the LME as a project quite distinct from the *Concordia*. Just as the technicality of the subject did not prevent TElfric from tacitly pressing his views of reform, the occasion also did not force him to set aside his familiar role of teacher and exegete. His use of Amalarius's work, both in the LME and elsewhere, can be seen in the context of the Anglo-Saxon reformers' esteem for Carolingian scholarship and its role in church reform.¹⁶³ It is ironic, then, that Amalarius's magnum opus, which exercised enormous influence throughout the Middle Ages, was in some respects a curiosity of the Carolingian renaissance. Although Amalarius's `Romanizing' urge was well matched with the imperial agenda of political and liturgical unity, the essential character of the *Liber officialis* was encyclopedic, scholarly and antiquarian rather than practical or catechetical, like the older *expositiones missae* it would soon surpass in popularity." In effect, IElfric was again confronted with a source that held great appeal but required significant adaptation if it was to serve his purpose. At least some of the job of revision, however, had already been done for him by one or more anonymous editors of Amalarius's work. The textual history of the *Liber officialis* has been impressively reconstructed from the large number of surviving manuscripts, but against this background IElfric's exemplar represents something of a special case, of major importance in source study of the LME.

Amalarius and the history of the *Liber officialis*

Amalarius was born c. 770 x 775, perhaps in or near the city of Metz.⁶⁵ A student of Alcuin,¹⁶⁶ towards the end of 809 he succeeded Archbishop Wizo as metropolitan of the ancient see of Trier (Treves). In the spring of 813 Amalarius was sent by Charlemagne on an embassy to Constantinople; but upon his return,

coincident with the death of the emperor in 814, he found himself deprived of his see. This still unexplained demotion freed him to devote much of the next two decades to liturgical studies, culminating in the publication of the *Liber officialis* (sometimes called *De ecclesiasticis officiis*) through several editions.

The earliest identifiable form of the work consisted of a dedicatory preface to Louis the Pious (*Gloriosissime imperator*) and a text in three books.¹⁶⁷ The first treats the liturgies of the church year from Septuagesima Sunday through the Octave of Pentecost, with particular attention to the solemn services of Holy Week. The second book begins with a discussion of the origins and significance of the Ember Days, then proceeds to a detailed analysis of the eight ecclesiastical grades and the principal liturgical vestments. The third book is a step-by-step commentary on the actions and prayers of the mass, subjects Amalarius had perhaps already treated in less detail elsewhere. ¹⁶⁸ A second, revised edition of the *Liber officialis* appeared near the end of the 820s.¹⁶⁹ Its manuscripts evidence Amalarius's significant revision of certain points from the prior edition and, more importantly, include a new, fourth book devoted entirely to the Divine Office.

Separating the second edition of the *Liber officialis* from the third is the watershed event in Amalarius's career as a liturgist: his journey to Rome in 831. In that year, or the closing months of the preceding one, Louis the Pious dispatched Amalarius on a diplomatic visit to Pope Gregory IV (827-44). The reasons for the mission are not recorded, but Amalarius took advantage of the occasion to study at first-hand the liturgical customs of the city's ancient churches. There he gathered enough new material to warrant yet another, thoroughly revised and - in keeping with the spirit of Carolingian renovation - 'Romanized' edition of the *Liber officialis*. This version must have been published sometime between Amalarius's return home (the latter part of 831) and his disastrous assignment in 835, again by the Emperor Louis, to serve as interim administrator of the troubled see of Lyons. There his enemies began a series of attacks that led to the eventual condemnation of the *Liber officialis* as newfangled, heretical teaching.¹⁷⁰ Amalarius was removed from his office, but no further action was taken against him. He continued to write about the liturgy, producing in the last phase of his career yet another important work, the *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*. He died on 29 April 852 or 853, probably at Metz, where he was buried in the church of St Arnulf. Despite the charges of heresy, the *Liber officialis* continued to be read, copied, cited and epitomized for centuries,⁷¹ although the manuscript evidence does suggest that the dissemination of the third

IElfric's exemplar

Of more than twenty separate loci in the LME clearly drawn from the *Liber officialis*, only about one third bear citation-tags such as 'Amalarius: ...', 'Amalarius dicit . . .' or 'secundum disputationem Amalarii',¹⁷³ but most of the borrowings, elaborative in character, stand out strongly against the more technical matter of the customary. Textual evidence indicates that, until the mid-eleventh century, the *Liber officialis* was known in England only in an abridged version derived from Amalarius's third edition. Called the *Retractatio prima* by the modern editor of the *Liber officialis*, Jean-Michel Hanssens, this two-book abridgement was probably compiled in northern France or Brittany in the decades shortly after Amalarius's death.¹¹⁴ The close associations of early Breton and English copies argue that the *Retractatio prima* first crossed the Channel in the early tenth century, perhaps in the baggage of Breton refugees who were fleeing Viking attacks.¹⁷⁵ These displaced Bretons have long been acknowledged as a source of innovation in the early tenth-century AngloSaxon church, ¹¹⁶ which gratefully received the two-book redaction of Amalarius's *Liber officialis*. The work was 'treated with considerable respect' in English scriptoria decades before the beginning of monastic revival in the mid-tenth century.¹⁷⁷ By the time IElfric wrote the LME, Amalarius's text had been known at some Anglo-Saxon centres for the better part of a century.¹⁷⁸

First suggested by Milton McC. Gatch, the identification of the *Retractatio prima* as Allfric's intermediate source helps explain why some material in the LME is organized differently than in the modern printed text of Amalarius's third edition, and how some apparently non-Amalarian material must have stood alongside passages from the authentic *Liber officialis* in iElfric's exemplar.^{17'} After considering the extant AngloSaxon and Breton manuscripts and the interpolations common to them, however, one is still left with a significant amount of 'Amalarian'-style exposition in the LME at variance with both the complete *Liber officialis* and its later *Retractatio prima*. Once, for example, zElfric explicitly attributes to Amalarius a point (about the striking of a new fire on each day of the Triduum) that bears no resemblance to anything in the *Liber officialis* or among its better-attested interpolations.^{1fi0} Such evidence raises the challenge that, at this and numerous other points, IElfric's exemplar was surprisingly

unlike any other extant member of the basic Anglo-Breton *Retractatio prima* family.¹⁸¹

Just such a variant version of the *Retractatio prima*, containing almost all of IElfric's extra 'Amalarian' teaching, happens to survive in a manuscript that escaped the notice of Hanssens as he was preparing his edition. The main text of Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 154 (Salisbury, s. Xie") is that of the *Retractatio prima*, but with considerable re-arrangement and interpolation.¹⁸² The antecedents of this version and its relationship to other English and Breton copies of the recension are as yet undetermined. It would be useful to know, at least, whether this variant *Retractatio prima* preserves the work of a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon scholar or represents a separate textual tradition, imported ready-made from the Continent. The immediate significance of this copy, however, is that it confirms the existence of an augmented version of the *Retractatio prima* from which 'Elfric's exemplar, like Salisbury 154, clearly derived.'"¹⁸³ For present purposes, the crucial 'extra' material in the Salisbury version begins on p. 18 of the manuscript, with a question-and-answer dialogue now supplementing, now replacing outright, the discussion of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday found in other copies of the *Retractatio prima*. Selected quotations from the Salisbury version are provided in the commentary, below, to illustrate how its variant discussion of the *triduum sacrum* informs nearly all of the 'Amalarian' teaching in the LME that cannot be traced to Hanssens's edition or to other manuscripts of the *Retractatio prima*.

Adaptations and informing concerns

The allegorical method of liturgical exposition that drew loud rebuke from some quarters in Amalarius's own lifetime seems, ironically, to have been the very aspect that commended his work to later generations. IElfric knew and admired the *Liber officialis* from early in his career, since the text figures as a source in both series of Catholic Homilies."¹⁸⁴ In the Old English homily for Septuagesima (Second Series) he cites the text and author by name: 'Sum wis lareow hatte Amalarius. se awrat ane boc be cyrclicum deawum, hwet 8a gesetnyssa godes ~enunga on gearlicum ymbryne getacniao."¹⁸⁵ Such praise from the pen of one whose writings show only an occasional interest in the liturgy is best explained by the similarity between Amalarius's project and IElfric's more accustomed sphere, the exposition of scripture. IElfric's use of the *Liber officialis* when composing the LME closely parallels his use of commentary by

Bede, Gregory, Augustine, Jerome and others in the exegetical homilies. His ease, moreover, in moving from biblical to liturgical commentary reflects a broader contemporary trend.¹⁸⁶ An allegorical 'reading' of ritual appealed to an age of liturgical elaboration and increasingly affective modes of piety, while also imposing a transcendent order on what was, in actuality, an often disorderly universe of practices. This spiritual and exegetical unity of the liturgy may even have offered a theoretical substitute for the literal uniformity of custom that, I have suggested, was a sensitive point for Alfric as he modified the Concordia.

A lfric's choice of the *Liber offuialis* as a supplementary source accords well with everything that is known of his scholarly and pedagogical tastes. All of the material adapted from it serves to elaborate bare liturgical instructions on important holy days or, in some cases, fill in gaps left by the Concordia.⁸⁷ The adaptation of Amalarian passages illustrates a command of the whole (abridged) source and remarkable confidence in quoting or paraphrasing the material in a way that best suits his needs.¹ The practical sensibility that informed 'Elfric's treatment of the Concordia also stands out here, most notably in the silent adaptation of secular liturgical customs to a monastic context.⁸⁹ Familiar from the homilies, too, is a careful attention to biblical quotation and a seeming preference for the authentic wording of scripture over the vague echo.¹⁹⁰ At least twice, exegetical details intrude that are best explained by reminiscence or direct consultation of his earlier homilies."

1Elfric may have been drawn to the *Liber officialis* because he found its method familiar and stimulating, but he also refashioned its teaching according to a larger design. Certain changes which he consistently introduced suppress the scholarly and antiquarian emphases of Amalarius's work and exploit its imaginative and dramatic potential. In effect, i lfric's rewriting of the text often involves a shift from Amalarius's ostensibly objective and 'historical' discourse to a near-affective and hortatory one. The result, not surprisingly for EElfric, sometimes sounds more like a sermon than a liturgical exposition. L92 Amalarius usually maintains, for example, the pretense of a historical 'author of the liturgy' (*compositor officii*) who has designed observances to correspond in rational and intricate ways to typological patterns laid down in the Old and New Testaments. 'Etfrc (or, in a few cases, the prior redactor whose work is preserved in the 'Salisbury version') always deletes this human intermediary. The result is a rhetorical trick that recasts present liturgical acts as a kind of participation in the biblical events being

commemorated. 193 Amalarius's historicism, which is at once both encyclopedic and chaotically inconsistent, objectifies and distances the liturgy as sublime artifice. 'Elfric's choice and adaptation of material collapse this distance and encourage a view of the monks' liturgy as an immediate response to events in Christian history.

SOURCE STUDY AND FURTHER INTERPRETATIVE PROBLEMS

When interpreting what the LME says, relative to its sources, about iElfric's own liturgy, one is frustrated to have to qualify difference after suggestive difference as only 'apparent' or 'possible'. But the loss of 1Elfric's exemplars and the complex textual histories of both his major sources necessitate such caution. As noted above, the omission of some extravagant rituals in the *Regularis concordia*, such as the famous *Visitatio sepulchre* 'play' at Easter Nocturns, might indicate something about the size, resources or liturgical competence of the new community. Or the absence of much matter from the proem to the *Concordia* might be explained by tacit shifts between first- and second-generation ideals of 'reform'. But such conclusions ultimately rest on arguments from silence and so remain speculative to a high degree. No customary could include every detail of observance, and an abridgement of a customary was bound to be more selective and allusive still.

No less troubling for the historian of the liturgy are numerous instances in which iElfric should depart from his sources but does not. Here his tendency to cut and splice Latin sources, while attempting to preserve much of the lexis and even the syntax of the originals, has crucial implications. Some passages follow the sources slavishly even where changes were obviously called for. The result is most noticeable, if innocuous, in blank liturgical formulas quoted directly from the *Regularis concordia*. The blanks in the original here presumably reflect i thelwold's intention that the *Concordia* would serve as a template for reformed houses, whose scriptoria would fill in such details in their own copies. Because 1Elfric did not tailor these formulas, the LME never reveals even such basic facts as the dedication of the monastic church at Eynsham or the name of the saint(s) whose relics were enshrined in its altar(s). 194 R,lfric, in a word, did not fully customize his customary. Whether he was not as thorough an adaptor as one would like to think, or whether from the very outset he imagined that the 'Eynsham letter' would be read and used by a wider audience,⁹⁵ the assumption that he has so fully integrated his sources that every detail in the LME necessarily reflects

Eynsham practices does not always withstand scrutiny.

More seriously, his occasional failure to modify what (contemporary evidence strongly suggests) must have been outdated or otherwise inappropriate customs undermines the assumption that the LME is always reliable in those details it does provide. A close reading of the LME against its sources quickly reveals that the extent of t lfric's editing fluctuates considerably, and the cutting-and-splicing method that served him adequately when abridging homiletic and narrative sources could have serious consequences when applied to more technical matter. Doubt will therefore linger that misplaced or antiquated customs in the LME are merely the vestiges of an imperfectly modified source rather than evidence of exceptional practice at Eynsham.¹⁹⁶ At least twice, for example, fElfric provides liturgical incipits that can hardly be correct: one of these is taken over as part of an extensive direct quotation from Amalarius, the other (less certainly) from a derivative of *Ordo rornanus XIII*.¹⁹⁷ Elsewhere an instruction about the Night Office readings in Advent, also from *Ordo romanus XIII*, appears to conflict with an earlier statement in the *First Series of Catholic Homilies*.¹⁹⁸

More interesting than these cases, which betray only incidental lapses of attention, are discrepancies that suggest AElfric's makeshift adaptation of secular Office materials to a monastic context. The substitution of the secular for the monastic form of the Office during the most solemn parts of the church year (especially the triduum sacrum and Easter) was a widespread custom by IElfric's day. Yet three times his *ordo lectionum* (LME 70-80) implies the framework of a secular Office (with nine instead of twelve readings) on feasts that did not substitute the secular for the monastic form.⁹ The Eynsham monks probably did not do so either, but IElfric has adopted the potentially misleading formulation wholesale from some version of the secular *Ordo romanus XI*.¹¹ Even if he could depend on the monks' Office lectionary and antiphoner to prevent any confusion, the very fact that, late in the second generation of the 'Benedictine revival', a monastic *ordo lectionum* was not available for his use is remarkable. To witness, at this period and place, the monastic tradition turning to the secular for such a basic resource is perhaps only another indication that 'reform', as EElfric understood it, was of necessity pragmatic and synthetic, its fortunes more closely bound to the nonmonastic church than earlier polemic had been able to admit.

The manuscript

The sole extant copy of YElfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham survives on pp. 237-68 of an extraordinarily complex manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 (formerly K. 2). This composite volume has been much studied, but earlier published accounts are in need of considerable revision.¹ The present discussion can only touch on those aspects of the manuscript's contents and structure where these pertain to the unique survival of the LME, its possible relevance to those who copied it and the assumptions made by modern scholars regarding its place in the tradition of Archbishop Wulfstan's 'commonplace book'.¹

DESCRIPTION

CCCC 265 is made up of 275 parchment leaves, plus one parchment flyleaf of s. xith at its beginning, and two of s. xiii at its end.¹ The volume measures c. 265 mm x 165 mm, with a written space of c. 205 mm x 110 mm.⁴ Its texts were copied over the course of nearly a century by a number of scribes. The present bound codex is actually a composite volume made up of at least three distinguishable sections, the first two of which also seem to have been made up incrementally before joining each other and the third. All parts must have been combined, however, by the time a thirteenth-century scribe added a crude table of contents on the verso of the first flyleaf (p. 2).⁵

A recent codicological re-examination of pp. 3-268, or 'Part A', at whose end the unique copy of the LME is preserved, has corrected and supplemented the entry in M. R. James's *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* on a number of points.⁶ Palaeographical evidence and later medieval provenance suggest that this portion was copied at Worcester in the middle or third quarter of the eleventh century.¹ The contents of Part A distinguish it as one of a group of manuscripts associated with the Old English homilist Wulfstan, bishop of London (996-1002), then archbishop of York (1002-23; with Worcester, 1002-16).[~] Wulfstan assembled a reference book of canonistic, liturgical and homiletic materials from which he drew throughout his career. The collection appears to have changed considerably over time and perhaps never

had a fixed, authoritative form. Consequently it survives in markedly different versions as the core of several manuscripts whose precise interrelations are now difficult to recover.' Some or all of Part A witnesses this collection; its contents are so various and drawn from so many sources that they are difficult to characterize, but there appears to be a basic division between canon law and penitential texts (pp. 3-208) and liturgical texts (pp. 209-68).¹⁰ On closer examination, the strongest links to the 'commonplace book' family are limited to the canon collections and penitential texts in the first thirteen quires (pp. 3-208), which for convenience may be identified separately as Part A. A rough outline of the notable contents in this portion would include: the canon law collection erroneously known as the *Excerptiones Ecgberti*, plus (or including) a great many canons from Insular and Carolingian sources; I a type of 'confessor's handbook' in Latin and Old English; a collection of letters, including some addressed to Wulfstan, on the subject of penitential pilgrimages; the episcopal capitularies of Radulf and Theodulf; /Elfric's two Latin pastoral letters to Wulfstan, plus Wulfstan's own Latin 'sermons' on baptism and the chrism; three composite Latin texts on the ecclesiastical grades, attributed to 1Elfric; and short excerpts from Hrabanus Maurus's *De clericorum institutione*.

The remainder of Part A (pp. 209-68), or A2, contains a lengthy form of excommunication,¹² the Latin-Old English law code IV Edgar, an incomplete ordo for the bishop's Chrism Mass on Maundy Thursday and, finally, the LME itself. The transition from canonical to primarily liturgical documents becomes more pronounced in the ten quires of Part B (pp. 269-442). These quires, datable on palaeographical grounds to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, contain excerpts from Amalarius's *Liber officialis*,¹³ a block of texts drawn from the Romano-German Pontifical,¹⁴ the supposedly Amalarian *Eclogae de ordine romano* and Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis obseruationibus*. Part C (pp. 443-550), a twelfth-century copy of Hugh of Fleury's *Chronicon* bearing a false attribution to No of Chartres, is not relevant to the following discussion.

An overview of the diverse parts of CCCC 265 reveals that Part A2 is closer than B or C in date to the material copied on pp. 3-208, but shares with other manuscripts of the 'commonplace book' family only one text, the excommunication rite on pp. 211-15.¹⁵ Arguably, the liturgical content of A2, especially the Chrism Mass ordo and the LME, form a neater fit with the later additions of Part B (extracts from Amalarius, etc.). Part A2 also distinguishes itself from the preceding 'commonplace book' core by a relative diversity of scribal hands. A

single 'irregular and uncalledigraphic hand' 16 (Scribe 1) is responsible for almost all of A, (i.e., pp. 3-207, the first thirteen quires).¹⁷ A different scribe added a few canons on the last page and a half of the thirteenth quire (p. 207, line 14-p. 208, line 16).¹⁸ The latter writes a heavy, rotund 'Style IV' AngloCaroline minuscule characteristic of later eleventh-century manuscripts copied in Anglo-Saxon scriptoria.¹⁹ A highly artificial and legible script, Style IV appears to have emanated from Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century, perhaps from the celebrated scribe known as 'Eadui Basan'.²⁰ It quickly spread to Exeter and other important scriptoria all over the kingdom, although it appears to have been taken up at Worcester only in the 1050s during the pontificate of Ealdred (1046-62).²¹ Notably, the general appearance of Scribe I's writing in A has little in common with the script of other later eleventh-century Worcester books, which show the cultivation of a distinctive 'house style' of Style IV Anglo-Caroline.

The texts that immediately follow in A2, rituals for excommunication and reconciliation (pp. 211-15) and customizing additions to them (p. 209), appear to be the work of multiple scribes,²² as does the next item, the law code IV Edgar.²³ The following Maundy Thursday ordo (pp. 228-31, written in red ink) breaks off abruptly in mid-course, and the last two-and-a-half folios (= pp. 232-6) of quire 1.5 are blank. The writing resumes on p. 237, the first folio of quire 16, where the LME begins in a heavy Style IV hand similar but not identical to that of the preceding ordo. The scribal stints of A2 still await a thorough sorting out, but the main point should be clear: while one scribe copied, probably from a single exemplar, the entire portion of texts exemplifying the 'commonplace book', the succeeding four quires witness a mix of hands copying, mostly in a new style of script, texts of miscellaneous character, perhaps even from several different exemplars. The hand of the LMEscribe makes no significant appearance elsewhere in the manuscript, and, unlike other texts in Part A, the LME fits neatly in the space of two complete quires (16 and 17).²⁴ These quires, moreover, are ruled in a manner slightly different from the ones before and after them.²⁵ The gathering that holds the LME thus begins to look very much like a separate section not originally copied to be part of the preceding manuscript.²⁶ Because of the incremental growth of the whole book, these last two quires could have joined the rest of Part A at any time before Part B was added to it, probably near the turn of s. xi/xii.

The single scribe who copied the LME was competent, and the text

rarely calls for emendation. Punctuation is inconsistent, with a single point used for differing degrees of medial pause and occasionally for full stops; in a few instances, a fuller hierarchy is introduced by the use of the punctus eleuatus and punctus ueruss.²¹ Some proper names appear in a hybrid display script,²⁸ and a few unpretentious two- and three-line initials occur,²⁹ but the presentation of the text is otherwise quite unremarkable. The sense-divisions or 'Sinnabschnitte' introduced by Nocent and Hallinger for the 1984 edition in the CCM (and retained for convenience in the present edition) have no manuscript authority. Rather, the text is unbroken by paragraph divisions or chapter headings; unlike the manuscripts of the Concordia, the LME lacks a table of contents (or provisions for one). Nothing about this unique copy suggests, then, that R-lfric's original plan for the text included a division into chapters, much less into chapters corresponding to the divisions found in the body of the Concordia.

THE LME AND ARCHBISHOP WULFSTAN'S 'COMMONPLACE BOOK'

In 1895 Mary Bateson pointed out the striking parallels, both in content and arrangement, of five manuscripts: CCCC 265; CCCC 190; London, BL, Cotton Nero A. i; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718; and Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 3182. She correctly linked the collection to Worcester, c. 1000, though not to the figure of Archbishop Wulfstan.³⁰ In 1942 Dorothy Bethurum associated the collection with Wulfstan the homilist by demonstrating numerous instances in which he drew from these materials for the composition of his own Latin and Old English works. To Bateson's list of manuscripts, Bethurum added: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 and Barlow 37; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595; and London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv.³¹ Both Bateson and Bethurum recognized, however, that there could be no easy explanation of the relationships among the several manuscripts, since none appeared to be a direct copy of any of the others; in fact, some differences among them seemed so great as to deny that all the manuscripts could have descended from a single archetype. Striking agreements in variant readings and the internal arrangement of entire text-groups, on the other hand, ruled out the attribution of their similarities to mere coincidence.

This puzzling array of evidence has led to the conclusion that Archbishop Wulfstan's 'commonplace book' existed from the very beginning in more than one version, that Wulfstan himself was at least partly responsible for the different versions and that he did not use

any one version to the exclusion of the others.³² These conclusions usefully reconcile otherwise contradictory evidence. First, three extant manuscripts of the 'commonplace book' appear to be products of one of Archbishop Wulfstan's own scriptoria and contain additions, corrections and occasional titles in his own hand.³³ Yet even these three manuscripts - all demonstrably used by Wulfstan and copied, it seems, under his direction - present differing versions of the collection, both in their choice and arrangement of material. Second, a recent, painstaking study of the structure of one of these three manuscripts, Copenhagen 1595, reveals that it is made up of several sections produced independently of one another, and that the many scribes 'contributed to their individual Sections as ends in themselves and with no initial notion of forming the collection as it now stands'.³⁴ As a first-generation witness to the 'commonplace book', the Copenhagen manuscript demonstrates how Wulfstan may have employed his own scriptorium to produce a copy of the collection. In that manuscript the basic increment appears to have been the section - a quire or quires containing a complete group or 'block' of texts." How these blocks were afterwards 'stacked' may have mattered less than the internal composition of each block. The construction of Copenhagen 1595 sheds new light on the 'commonplace book' puzzle, for it allows that, at the source (perhaps in Wulfstan's possession), several different 'archetypes' of the collection might have existed side by side.; The arrangement by section may represent the texts as they occurred in Wulfstan's own copy or in a copy he ordered made; these sections would be variously distributed for copying, and the resulting copies then bound together in particular sequences and/or in combination with extraneous texts. Depending on the arrangement of these sections, the process could produce a number of different exemplars which, especially after further recopyings, omissions and interpolations, would explain the survival of the 'commonplace book' in such widely differing versions. 37

The shifting foundations of the 'commonplace book' and its contents deserve close attention since manuscript context offers what may be the only available clues to the early reception of the LME. The survival of the work in CCC 265 alongside texts of known derivation from the 'commonplace book' has been interpreted as evidence that the LME entered Wulfstan's collection either because IElfric sent the archbishop a copy or Wulfstan sought one out. Bernhard Fehr, editor of IElfric's *pastoralia*, reasoned that IElfric sent Wulfstan a copy of the LME 'because it would have to have been of interest to him [scil. Wulfstan], the former abbot'.³⁸ Quite apart from the fact that Wulfstan is titled 'abbot' only in a late and unconfirmable source,³⁹

Fehr underestimated the complexity of the relationships among the 'commonplace book' manuscripts and greatly overstated the collection's ties to Alfric.⁴⁰ Deftly correcting these misconceptions, Peter Clemoes nevertheless allowed Fehr's judgement of the LME's reception to stand, though he added the qualifier that Wulfstan might have acquired his copy not from IElfric directly, but through some other channel.⁴¹ Clemoes's modified but still confident attribution of the LME to the 'commonplace book' tradition is typical.⁴²

Because analysis of the contents and structure suggest a division of Part A into texts that exemplify the 'commonplace book' and those that do not, the dangers of a circular argument now loom. The LME is associated with the 'commonplace book' tradition in part because of its survival in the final two quires of CCCC 265, Part A;⁴³ at the same time, the presence of the LME there has been cited as one piece of evidence to support the argument that the last four quires of Part A, like the first thirteen, exemplify the 'commonplace book' tradition. Acknowledging this danger, recent discussions of CCCC 265 have been more guarded about claiming for unique texts in the later 'commonplace book' manuscripts descent from one of the versions of Wulfstan's 'original' collection.⁴⁴ Further comparative study of the several manuscripts only underscores the need for caution. In showing, for example, that CCCC 265 stands quite close to an even later 'commonplace book' manuscript, Barlow 37, Sauer has argued strongly that 'commonplace book'-portions of both manuscripts descend from a single exemplar (now lost), which was itself a copy at one or more removes from a manuscript used by Wulfstan.⁴⁵ The absence of the LME from Barlow 37, a manuscript in other respects so close to CCCC 265, necessarily raises doubt as to whether the text was present in their common ancestor. Of the LME and other texts found in CCCC 265 but not Barlow 37, Sauer will only say, 'one cannot rule out that at least a portion of the material in manuscript C [= CCCC 265] . . . was already in Wulfstan's collection, especially pp. 216-27 [= IV Edgar] and 237-68 [= LME]'.⁴⁶ CCCC 265, Part A, having been written between twenty-five and fifty years after the archbishop's death, is decidedly not a first-generation witness to Wulfstan's reference book. By its very nature the collection appears to have invited, in any case, the addition of new texts and abridgement or omission of matter from the exemplar. While the traditional association of the LME with the 'commonplace book' remains plausible and, one must admit, attractive for its preservation of a contemporary link between AElfric and Wulfstan, the evidence when re-examined allows for the possibility that the LME falls outside the 'commonplace book' tradition. This possibility invites renewed speculation about the

reception of EElfric's customary and the significance of its sole surviving copy.

As already stated, CCCC 265, Part A, is a Worcester manuscript of the middle to third quarter of the eleventh century. The book's contemporary associations are therefore entirely with the career of another Wulfstan, Wulfstan II of Worcester (hereafter 'St Wulfstan' to distinguish him from the archbishop).⁴⁷ If, as one scholar has suggested, CCCC 265 was a 'handbook of canonical and liturgical texts used by Wulfstan II during his episcopate',⁴⁸ the LME perhaps owes its survival more to the interest of this later Wulfstan than of his namesake, the archbishop. Peculiar circumstances at Worcester Cathedral Priory in the later tenth and eleventh centuries would accommodate this view. Following the pattern of his fellow reformers, at some time between 966 and 977 St Oswald, then bishop of Worcester, had introduced monks into the cathedral close, though it is difficult to say exactly when the older secular community ceased to function there, or if it existed in some form until well into the eleventh century.⁴⁹ Whatever the relative status of the monks and seculars at Worcester, when St Wulfstan was appointed prior of the cathedral monastery (c. 1055 x 1057) by Bishop Ealdred (1046-62), his policies suggest dissatisfaction with what he found there. He immediately set about reviving the community which, by his own account, had dwindled to twelve monks. **50 A decline in numbers and discipline would have** resulted in part from the political turmoil that drained the resources of the see during the reigns of Edward the Martyr, Æthelred and Cnut. But the more damaging influence remained the custom of plurality which allowed archbishops of York to hold both the York and Worcester dioceses at the same time.⁵¹ Given the importance of Worcester, the community over which St Wulfstan became prior was relatively small and poor and may have still included both monks and clerks. In such a setting, even the monks might not know the full observance instituted by St Oswald, including the liturgical customs of the *Regularis concordia*. Because EElfric's customary was written for a modest community, some of whose members supposedly did not know the *Concordia*, the LME might have served St Wulfstan well as he set about re-introducing the regular life in all its fullness.⁵² The compilation of CCCC 265, Part A, or at least the addition of texts in A., may date to the years of St Wulfstan's priorate, since reform of the Worcester scriptorium and adoption of Style IV Anglo-Caroline had apparently already begun during Ealdred's pontificate.'

Nor would the usefulness of the LME have ceased when St Wulfstan

became bishop in 1062: even then he made a point of living in the monastic community and, so far as possible, acting as its abbot. During his pontificate the LME could have served as a reference text to consult, and perhaps even adapt and use, when establishing smaller dependencies. Relfric's customary bore witness to an earlier period of monastic colonization, when many new or refounded houses required some record of the customs in their parent foundations. From St Wulfstan's Worcester emanated an analogous, if less ambitious, revival, the success of which [must have required authoritative models of liturgical observance, though on a scale less grand than at Worcester Cathedral Priory](#). An epitome such as the LME would serve as an ideal model for the transplanting of liturgical custom to a small dependency, such as Westbury-on-Trym, which St Wulfstan refounded sometime before 1093.⁵

Whether or not the LME served on such specific occasions as these, its context in CCCC 265 points to the larger cultural significance of St Wulfstan's pontificate, which prolonged the life of native ecclesiastical customs in the decades of transformation from Anglo-Saxon to AngloNorman England. It is well known that the copying of Old English manuscripts continued and perhaps even increased at St Wulfstan's Worcester; additionally, some English liturgical practices were preserved there, and confraternities established with other houses retaining AngloSaxon heads fostered a recusant identity.⁵⁵ But even among his Norman colleagues, St Wulfstan enjoyed a high reputation not only for his sanctity but for his thorough knowledge of pre-Conquest church tradition. When Anselm became archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, St Wulfstan was the last Anglo-Saxon bishop and, as such, the last living authority on native English customs.⁵⁶ Wulfstan took seriously his role as a preserver of the old ways, especially the traditions of Anglo-Saxon monasticism. Tellingly, his first public act after being ordained bishop was the dedication of a church to the Venerable Bede. Coleman's *Old English Life of Wulfstan*, which survives only in a Latin translation by William of Malmesbury, interprets the significance explicitly:

*Altera enim ordinationis die beato Bede dedicauit ecclesiam, pulchre illi prime dedicationis prebens principium, qui fuisset literature princeps de gente Anglorum. Eo enim die tam proflua predicatione populum irrorauit, ut non dubitaretur Wlstanum per spiritum sanctum eadem niti facundia, que quondam linguam mouisset in Beda.*⁵⁷

Like the great monk-bishops of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, St

Wulfstan ideally balanced his episcopal and monastic roles. But the nostalgia for a golden age of Anglo-Saxon monasticism was, of course, received through the ideology of the tenth-century reformers, with whose role St Wulfstan also consciously identified his own. His pontificate represented a deliberate return to certain ideals of his Worcester predecessors, Dunstan (957-9) and Oswald (961-92).⁵⁸ In another revealing episode, St Wulfstan's biographer recounts how the bishop, armed only with copies of the *Vitae* of his two saintly predecessors, successfully defended his see from the proprietary claims of the newly elected Norman archbishop of York, Thomas (1070-1100).⁵⁹ Dunstan and Oswald proved valuable symbols not only for their Worcester connections, but because they recalled the long tradition of English monasticism and epitomized the virtues of a monk-bishop.

Although the LME boasts no immediate link to either of St Wulfstan's predecessors at Worcester, Telfric's preface, with its mention of Æthelwold's school, flaunts in a general way the badge of the reforming party to which they belonged. Perhaps more to the point, liturgical and other ties between reformed Winchester and Worcester broaden the context for reception of the LME. The form of the 'New Hymnal' still in use at Worcester during St Wulfstan's pontificate, for example, was essentially that of Æthelwold's Winchester nearly a century before, and of the LME itself.⁶¹ Other evidence for the liturgical influence of Winchester includes: the prominence of SS Birinus, Swithun and Judoc in the calendar of St Wulfstan's 'Portiforium';⁶¹ the textual affinities of two manuscripts of Æthelwold's bilingual version of the Benedictine Rule; ⁶² the type of script written at both centres in the later tenth century ('Style I' Anglo-Caroline); ⁶ⁱ and, less certainly, the presence of an Old Minster sacramentary at Worcester in the later eleventh century,⁶⁴ as well as the liturgical division of Ps. LXXVII at verse 40 rather than 36 - supposedly a Winchester symptom - in a *de luxe* psalter probably written at Ramsey, a Worcester dependency since its founding by St Oswald c. 966.^{C5} Regarding Æthelwold's own reputation at Worcester, it is significant that Coleman may have drawn elements for his *Life of Wulfstan* from a *Vita* of Æthelwold.⁶⁶ If the LME was not already in the exemplar of CCC 265, then the prominence of the names 'Æthelwold' and 'Winchester' at the head of the work and its extensive use of the *Regularis concordia* would have commended the text to historically sensitive, post-Conquest Worcester.

It may also be wondered whether or not the contrast between the two Wulfstans and the emphases of their respective pontificates argues

against the linking of the LME to the 'commonplace book' tradition. Neither the contents of Archbishop Wulfstan's collection nor his original writings indicate any deep or lasting interest in monastic life and liturgy. Apart from preaching (not necessarily a liturgically based activity), the archbishop's liturgical interests centred on rites associated with the episcopacy.⁶⁷ Among the several 'commonplace book' manuscripts, the only traces of any interest in the specific details of monastic liturgy (disallowing the equivocal evidence of the LME itself) are the excerpts *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*, found in CCC 190 and Rouen 1382; even these, however, have been adapted (if imperfectly) for secular use.⁶⁸ Archbishop Wulfstan's overriding interest was the formation and discipline of the secular clergy:⁶⁹ canons, not monks, formed his own cathedral chapter at York. As for his dealings with Ælfric (insofar as we can infer the archbishop's side of the exchange from Ælfric's responses), Wulfstan sought in the pastoral letters elaboration only of such major observances as Candlemas and the Triduum - that is, celebrations enjoined on both monks and seculars. Whether or not Archbishop Wulfstan was a monk himself (not to mention an abbot), his pontificate as a whole reflects a greater concern with the world than with the cloister: he is remembered as a preacher, a counsellor to kings and an author of law codes. His associations with particular monasteries are few and difficult to explain, except perhaps by personal or political ties.⁷⁰ In his own see of Worcester, Archbishop Wulfstan was later reviled for his alleged pursuit of secular interests at the expense of the cathedral priory. No contemporary monastically produced vita of Archbishop Wulfstan survives.

St Wulfstan's cultivation of the monastic life, deliberately patterned after the tenth-century reformers, offers a rather more accommodating prospect for the reception of Ælfric's customary. Some potential applications for the text have already been noted. Evidence also indicates that St Wulfstan and his Worcester monks knew Ælfric by reputation and so may even have prized the LME as a work of the abbot's pen. As prior, St Wulfstan distinguished himself as a preacher, and as bishop he clearly viewed preaching to the laity as one of the essential duties of his office.⁷¹ Several vernacular homily collections survive from Worcester of the second half of the eleventh century.⁷² The most important of these - now separated as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and 114 - was very likely compiled under St Wulfstan's direction and for his own use.⁷³ Although the first half of the collection favours catechetical and generally admonitory sermons deliverable *quando uolueris*, the second part contains pieces arranged for the Tempore from Christmas to Pentecost and drawn largely

from *z*Elfric's two sets of Catholic Homilies. 74 More relevant to the present discussion is the smaller collection of homilies preserved in CCC 178 (s. xi1, origin unknown). Although probably not written at Worcester, after the mid-eleventh century this manuscript was certainly in use there, where it received a belligerent annotation by Coleman on p. 229, and where it may also have served as an exemplar for certain items in the more extensive collection, Hatton 113-14.⁷⁵ As in the Hatton manuscript, the homilies of CCC 178 are divided into those for use *quando uolueris* and those designated for specific occasions; moreover, in CCC 178 the latter group is drawn entirely from IElfric's series for the *Temporale* and prefaced by a compiler's short notice: *In hoc codicello continentur duodecim sermones anglie. quos accepimus de libris quos alfricus abbas anglie trans-* *tulit.*⁷⁶ Although *s* lfric's homilies enjoyed a wide circulation, they appear in most manuscripts without attribution.⁷⁷ An ascription such as the one in CCC 178 is a rarity, and rarer still for its accuracy - the twelve items that follow are indeed by EElfric. The compiler's note in CCC 178 attests that, at least in some centres, IElfric's name did not pass from memory, but remained linked to his genuine works. The Worcester Old English homiliaries bear signs of significant use in the later eleventh century,⁷⁸ and a note such as the attribution in CCC 178 would not escape notice. St Wulfstan or some other compiler may even have chosen particular pieces for the Hatton 113 and 114 collection on the basis of EElfric's prestige.

JElfric's reputation at post-Conquest Worcester is further attested by a fragmentary early Middle English poem, the 'First Worcester Fragment' or 'St Bede Lament'. 79 These crude alliterative verses were copied at the end of an early thirteenth-century manuscript of /Elfric's Grammar and Glossary (Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 174) by the famous 'Tremulous Hand'.⁸⁰ The poem laments the supplanting of native English teachers by 'ogre leoden' ('other peoples') - French-speaking churchmen, perhaps - and claims that many English souls are daily being lost for want of preaching in their own tongue. Immediately following the Venerable Bede, and preceding some of the most illustrious names in the AngloSaxon church (Wilfrid, Cuthbert, Aldhelm, Dunstan, IEthelwold, Oswald and others), the poet inserts 'Elfric and praises him as the translator of the Pentateuch into English.⁸¹ The orthography of the 'Fragment' points to a now-lost Old English original, perhaps itself from Worcester.' Regardless of where the Old English antecedent was written, the extant poem bears witness to IElfric's enduring reputation as a teacher and translator on a par with some of the greatest Anglo-Saxon churchmen. Like few other late eleventh-century communities, St Wulfstan's Worcester nurtured an

audience capable of appreciating the importance of the name 'IElfricus abbas' (begun prominently with a three-line red capital) in the salutation of the LME. To this attraction add the prestige of IElfric's link to iEthelwold's reform and the long line of native monastic tradition, and there is little about the LME that would not appeal to St Wulfstan's personal interests or the reactionary temper of later eleventh-century Worcester.

Critical and editorial history

The LME has won notice chiefly as an ancillary witness to the *Regularis concordia*, of which it is usually assumed to be a straightforward abridgement, and as a fixed point of reference in discussions of IElfric's identity or the chronology of his career. Otherwise, the text has drawn little attention and has, through a remarkable series of accidents and misunderstandings, often been confused in secondary literature with the *Regularis concordia* or any of the Latin or Old English reflexes thereof. Lucia Kornexl's survey of the editorial history of the *Concordia* has laid bare centuries of confusion surrounding that text;¹ only a brief word remains to be said about the implications of this peculiar history for the modern reception of the LME. The earliest reference to IElfric's text occurs on the verso of a parchment flyleaf bound at the beginning of CCCC 265 itself. There a thirteenth-century hand has added a brief table of contents, of which the fifth item is, 'Epistola Alfrici de consuetudine monachorum'.² It is doubtful that this brief title alone accounts for the centuries-long tradition of calling IElfric's customary a 'letter', but noteworthy that the inclination antedates modern scholarship.

In the sixteenth century the LME caught the attention of Matthew Parker's Latin secretary, John Joscelyn (1529-1603). Joscelyn's annotations occur in portions of CCCC 265, and he may be responsible for a few marginal notes added to the opening pages of the LME.³ The preface to Parker's celebrated *Testimonie of Antiquitie*, probably written by Joscelyn, refers to CCCC 265 ('Can ancient book of canons from Worcester') and, in the course of establishing IElfric's identity, to the LME specifically: 'And truly [IElfric] calleth himself abbot in diuers of his epistles, although he neuer named of what place as in that he wryteth *Egneshamensibus* [sic] *fratribus*, de consuetudine monachorum; To the monkes of Egnesham, of the order and manner of monkes.'⁴ That Joscelyn had studied the entire LME and not just the epistolary preface is evident from an annotation he added to yet another manuscript. At the foot of what is now 176v in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, the last page of an incomplete Old English translation of the *Regularis concordia*, Joscelyn wrote the caption: 'Liber de consuetudine monachorum, qui est aut idem quern IF-thelwoldus Wintoniensis episcopus cum coepiscopis et abbatibus

tempore Eadgari regis Anglorum collegit (de quo mentionem Tacit iElfricus Abbas in epistola ad Egneshamenses [sic] fratres) aut certe ex eodem est desumptus.⁵ Joscelyn intended to attach the title *De consuetudine monachorum* not to the preceding Old English translation, however, but to the copy of the Latin *Regularis concordia* that originally followed on the next (facing) folio and was still present when he annotated the manuscript. The note indicates his recognition of the link between fElfric's 'epistola' and the 'liber de consuetudine monachorum' (= the *Regularis concordia*). Joscelyn could only have reached this conclusion after comparing the content of both texts, since the copy of the *Concordia* to which he was referring bears no title that would alone suggest the *liber consuetudinum* mentioned by iElfric as a source (LME 1). Through a series of accidents, centuries would pass before the relation of R3lfric's text to the *Concordia* was rediscovered. Sir Robert Cotton dismembered the codex containing the Old English translation, including Joscelyn's note, and bound it into another miscellany (the present Cotton Tiberius A. iii); the folios containing the Latin text of the *Concordia* to which Joscelyn had referred were bound with others as Cotton Faustina B. iii.⁶ Later readers naturally assumed that Joscelyn's note, now on 176v of the Tiberius manuscript, referred to the Old English translation that it followed. The resulting confusion would have serious consequences for future scholarship on the *Concordia* and texts derived from it.

In the works of the antiquaries of the seventeenth through the earlier nineteenth centuries, the LME remains a marginal text without a fixed title. In his catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Humphrey Wanley (1672-1726) singled out the LME in CCC 265 (then K. 2), quoting the preface in full.⁷ James Nasmith (1740-1808) did not draw on Wanley's work when compiling his catalogue of manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and his entry for CCC 265 offers a further variation on the title: 'Excerpta ex institutionibus monasticis Ethelwoldi episcopi Wintoniensis compilata in usum fratrum Egneshamnensium per iElfricum abbatem.'⁸ (Nasmith's descriptive title would later resurface at the head of Mary Bateson's edition of the LME in 1892.) In the eighteenth century, confusion over the identity of fElfric the homilist still reigned, and in a treatise devoted to the question, Edward-Rowe Mores (1730-78) re-asserted a claim that the homilist was none other than R-lfric, archbishop of Canterbury (995-1005). Then forced to explain why the archbishop would style himself 'abbot' in a document datable to c. 1005, Mores resolved the difficulty by claiming the LME as the work of the homilist's pupil, 'Elfric Bata.¹' Mores nevertheless deserves credit for reading beyond the epistolary conventions of the LME-preface and recognizing that

the 'Elfricus abbas' of the LME is almost certainly addressing the Eynsham community not as an outsider but as its head." Other scholars had been and would continue to be hesitant about identifying zElfric the homilist as the abbot of Eynsham.¹²

The publications of Eduard Dietrich signal the advent of the modern era in Ufric scholarship.' It is ironic, then, that Dietrich's treatise, 'Abt z lfrik', while laying the foundations for much of what is now taken for granted about iElfric's career and canon, introduced a new element of confusion about the LME. Dietrich not only misattributed to 'Elfric the Old English translation-fragment in Cotton Tiberius A. iii, but so confused this vernacular version with the Latin LME that he appears to speak of them as being different manuscripts of the same text, which he refers to as 'Yelfric's extract . . . for beginners'.¹⁴ On the one hand, Dietrich was clearly led astray by ubiquitous references to the LME as 1Elfric's 'excerpts' from a work known as *De consuetudine monachorum*, and, on the other, by the widespread misinterpretation of Joscelyn's aforementioned note. Dietrich's error was partially remedied by the dissertation of Edward Breck,¹⁵ who distinguished once more the vernacular Tiberius fragment from the Latin LME. Moreover, he claimed to have discovered what Joscelyn had realized over three centuries before - that the link between the LME and the Old English fragment is their mutual dependence on zEthelwold's *Regularis concordia* (which Breck continued to call the *De consuetudine monachorum*). Unfortunately, Breck persisted in attributing to iElfric the Old English translation in the Tiberius manuscript and devised an ingenious theory to explain the relation of that text, which he called 'klfric's fragment', to the LME, which he called 'iElfric's Latin Abridgment'. Breck theorized that iElfric began a translation of the *De consuetudine* (i.e., the *Concordia*) for his monks at Eynsham, but soon gave up the project in favour of a Latin abridgement of the same (i.e., the LME). Breck's theory about the relation of the Old English and Latin texts is untenable, since i lfric's authorship of the former can no longer be upheld.¹⁶ But his characterization of the motives and methods underlying the LME retains some value: Breck was one of the first scholars to demonstrate an appreciation for the LME as something more than mere 'excerpts' or an abridgement in the simplest sense.¹⁷ To his dissertation Breck also appended a transcription of the first two manuscript pages of the LME, the largest portion of the text to appear in print so far.⁸ Breck's errors were soon challenged by Frederick Tupper's survey of the principal texts of the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform. Drawing on the work of Julius Zupitza that appeared shortly after Breck's dissertation, Tupper firmly rejected 1Elfric's authorship of any Old English

translation of the *Regularis concordia*.⁹ Along the way, he sorted out much of the confusion caused by use of the vague term 'Ælfric's Extract' to describe both the Tiberius translation-fragment and the LME.¹⁰

Tupper's article appeared in 1893 but must have gone to press before he was alerted to Mary Bateson's *editio princeps* of the LME that appeared in the previous year, with Nasmith's catalogue entry for its title: *Excerpta ex institutionibus monasticis ~Ethelwoldi episcopi Wintoniensis compilata in usum fratrum Egneshamnensium per Elfricum abbatem*.²¹ At the beginning of the edition proper, Bateson supplied the heading: 'j lfric's Abridgement of St. JEthelwold's Concordia Regularis', while repeating Nasmith's Latin title in a footnote. In her brief introduction Bateson's up-to-date knowledge of the Concordia and related texts is evident, knowledge to which she herself would contribute in no small measure.²² She characterizes the LME as a letter 'containing a selection of passages from, or rather an abbreviation of {Ælfric's} master's treatise'.²³ There follows a summary of the monastic reform movement, then a brief statement about the significance of the LME:

j lfric's Letter gives us a brief account of the regulations under which the Monks of St. Swithun's [scil. the Old Minster] lived in the early years after their restoration; it throws abundant light on the daily course of their lives and on the exact nature of the religious services which played so large a part therein. It also assists materially in the interpretation of the 'Concordia', the Latinity of which might well be obscure even to the Monks themselves.²⁴

Concerning T-Ifric's relationship to the monks addressed in the letter, Bateson will say only that he 'appears to have been at onetime their head'.²⁵ Bateson printed a quasi-diplomatic transcription, though her punctuation, where it differs from the scribe's, at times suggests a lack of comprehension of the text. ¹⁶ She inserted paragraph breaks (sometimes without regard for context) and added helpful English captions in the margins that alert the reader to the general movement from topic to topic, but otherwise the edition respects the presentation of the LME in the manuscript. Bateson's apparatus fontium is impressive, given the unavailability of critical editions of the pertinent texts,²⁷ but she inevitably left a great deal of material unidentified or claimed as /Ælfric's own teaching statements that can now be attributed to other sources. Though she did not translate the LME, in a subsequent article of 1894 she offered a summary of its contents - amounting, at times, to an English paraphrase of the

text.²⁸ This article presented a fuller description of the Eynsham letter and its setting than had appeared in the headnote to the edition itself, and also employed - apparently for the first time - the English title by which the work has come to be known: 'Elfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham'.²⁹ In the following year, Bateson would round out her study of the LME with a detailed analysis of its manuscript, CCC 265.³⁰

In 1898 Caroline White's book-length study of IElfric's life and works (heavily indebted to Dietrich's publications of 1855-6) did not draw on Bateson's edition and articles, nor do these appear in her extensive bibliography.³¹ Instead, White's discussion of the LME is based almost entirely on the works of Breck and Tupper.³² Not surprisingly, then, she refers to the LME as the 'Excerpts from IElthelwold's De Consuetudine'.³³ In her final chapter, White prints all of Elfric's prefaces, including that to the LME, as well as part of the Eynsham foundation charter.³⁴

The close associations between the LME and liturgical matter in IElfric's pastoral letters to Archbishop Wulfstan encouraged Bernhard Fehr to reconstruct a more precise chronology of these works in the introduction to his edition of the pastoralia (1914). Although Fehr's chronology has won the endorsement of Clemons and most modern scholars, it rests in part on the questionable assumption that the second Old English pastoral letter to Wulfstan (Brief III) is at numerous points a translation of the LME (called by Fehr 'IElfrics Klosterauszug aus Aethelwold' or, more often, simply 'Klosterauszug'), and that the Latin LME was composed as 'a useful preparatory work' to facilitate the writing of Brief 111.³⁵ To support this claim, Fehr's edition of Brief III includes extensive quotations from the 'Klosterauszug' (= LME) at the foot of each page. The rest of Fehr's discussion of the LME concerns its relationship to still another text, a compilation of liturgical customs drawn from the Regularis concordia and other sources and adapted for use in non-monastic churches. Fehr saw in this, the De ecclesiastica consuetudine (his 'Priester-erzug'), yet another work by 'Elfric preparatory to the pastoral letters for Wulfstan. Whether or not IElfric had anything to do with these excerpts, they are more likely to represent an important analogue to the LME than a direct source.³⁶ Fehr's edition was reprinted in 1966 with a new supplement to the introduction prepared by Peter Clemons, whose remarks concerning the LME aimed chiefly to refute Fehr's theory about the 'Priestererzug'; on the relation of the LME to Brief III, however, Clemons left Fehr's hypothesis to stand.³⁷

Following the publication of Bateson's edition, references to the LME gradually multiply. Liturgists were quick to recognize the significance of Ilfric's customary, and the LME figures prominently in three major works of liturgical scholarship published in the middle decades of the twentieth century. J. B. L. Tolhurst included the LME (usually cited as the Eynsham customs') among the sources for the study of the medieval Office surveyed and compared in his *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*.^{3s} Thomas Symons cited IElfric's work freely in the explanatory notes to his edition and translation of the *Concordia* (1953).³ Finally, Ilfric's fuller picture of the hymnal at LME 13 and 50 provided important evidence for Helmut Gneuss's reconstruction of the 'WinchesterWorcester' liturgy in a ground-breaking study of 1968.⁴⁰

In recent decades a resurgence of interest in all things related to the monastic revival of the tenth century has greatly advanced understanding of the *Regularis concordia* and, if only by implication, the LME. New editions of both texts were published in 1984 in the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, a collaborative series of scholarly editions of the major Benedictine customaries from the eighth through fifteenth centuries.⁴¹ The important advance in the CCM edition by Adrien Nocent and Kassius Hallinger (titled *Aelfrici abbatis epistula ad monachos Egneshamnenses directa*) is not the text itself but the accompanying commentary. This apparatus explicatiuus, as the editors call it, combines extensive references to sources and analogues with explanatory notes and bibliography, while the comparative study of monastic customs is greatly facilitated by cross-references to the many continental texts edited in the CCM. The editors have also helpfully divided the text into eighteen major sections (indicated by roman numerals and descriptive titles supplied in angled brackets), which are further divided into sense-units ('Sinnabschnitte'), indicated by arabic numerals in the margin.⁴²

While Nocent's edition of 1984 did a great service for comparative liturgical scholarship, all who are interested in the LME specifically as a part of Ilfric's canon are likely to be frustrated by the presentation of the text in the CCM. The editors declare from the outset that they include IElfric's customary in the series chiefly as a textual and interpretative aid to the more important *Regularis concordia*. This attitude reflects centuries of dismissive characterization of the LME as little more than an 'abridgement' of, or 'excerpts' or 'extracts' from, the *Concordia*. In the CCM, for example, the LME does not merit an introduction of its own, instead receiving only slight notice in the discussion of witnesses drawn upon to establish the text of the

Concordia." The scope of the series provided no forum in which to discuss the relation of the LME to i lfric's career and other works, and the explanatory apparatus does not comment on the implications of the many choices JElfric made in adapting his sources. The importance of the LME for the study of the Regularis concordia has occasioned the only significant notices of jElfric's customary, by Joyce Hill and Lucia Kornexl, since the publication of the CCM edition.````

The tendency to subordinate the LME to the Concordia has admitted rare exceptions. Tolhurst, Symons and Gneuss had demonstrated that IElfric occasionally supplemented the Concordia in important ways, but the first study devoted exclusively to the LME only appeared in 1975 with J. R. Hall's collection of notes on some of its liturgical features.⁴⁵ Two subsequent articles by Milton McC. Gatch included ample and enthusiastic mention of IElfric's text. The first of these, published in 1977, amplified Hall's plea for further study of the LME and its sources and called special attention to the importance of LME 70-80 for the understanding of IElfric's Old English canon.⁴⁶ Gatch returned in 1985 to a detailed analysis of IElfric's ordo lectionum for the Night Office in a useful survey of primary sources available for the study of the Office in Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁷ There he also mentioned other features of IElfric's text that merit closer study, including the tailoring of the Concordia to the needs of a new, modest house; the lessened emphasis on royal patronage; and, finally, ~Elfric's adaptation of Amalarius's allegorical teaching about the liturgy.⁴⁸ The reader will recognize that Gatch's agenda has informed the course of these pages considerably.

Editorial principles

THE TEXT

The survival of the LME in only one manuscript precludes the establishment of a critical text. It is fortunate, then, that the unique witness in CCCC 265, pp. 237-68, appears to be fairly sound, showing few manifest corruptions. Emendation is rarely necessary and usually amounts to the correction of what are probably late scribal errors. Because the text has already seen two conservative editions, my editorial procedures are slightly more intrusive than those of Bateson and the CCM.¹ Emendations are incorporated directly into the text, with manuscript readings recorded in the critical apparatus at the foot of each page, to which a sequence of superscript letters (a, b, c, etc.) within each numbered section refers. Improvements adopted from Nocent's edition are so noted ('em. Nocent').

Gaps in sense are rare, but where it has been necessary to supply a word not present in the manuscript, the conjecture is enclosed within angled brackets. All abbreviations are silently expanded. Caudate or 'tailed' e is transcribed as either e or ae, as phonologically correct, though Classical ae is invariably used in abbreviations where the scribe might have used e, caudate e, ae or T, had he written the word out (e.g., prae-, quaesumus, papae). Otherwise, the edition follows the eleventh-century orthography (e.g., Septuagessima, Bryttannia, euuangelium), although a few spellings have been normalized that, although not unusual in medieval Latin, produce false homographs (e.g., hostium for ostium, expoliamus for exspoliamus) or appear to exceed the limits of variation normal for this scribe (e.g., chatholicorum). The normalized forms are treated as emendations. Punctuation and capitalization have been modernized throughout, and the majuscule form of u (used by the scribe invariably for both the vowel and the consonant) is transcribed as V.

Biblical quotations and liturgical incipits are enclosed within single quotation marks and further identified in the commentary. The pagination of the manuscript is indicated by numbers in square brackets inserted in the Latin text at the page breaks. Nothing suggests that 'Elfric intended a division of the LME into chapters, but for consistency and ease of reference the text is divided into paragraphs and sections, the latter (indicated by arabic numerals) corresponding to the sections of Nocent's edition in the CCM. My edition does not

include chapter headings and subheadings comparable to those supplied by Nocent and Hallinger, although I have supplied brief sectional and subsectional headings in English throughout the commentary. The reader searching for a particular topic in i lfric's customary is referred to the overview of the organization of the text in ch. 2, as well as to the index of liturgical formae and general index at the end of the volume.

THE TRANSLATION

An invariably paratactic or 'recipe-like' style is characteristic of liturgical ordines, and the facing-page translation does not aspire to introduce a polish or syntactic diversity not present in the original. Words in square brackets are not found in 'Elfric's Latin but have been supplied to complete the sense or to accommodate modern English idiom. For the sake of stylistic consistency, i lfric's frequent verbatim borrowings from the *Regularis concordia* have been translated afresh, although my debt to Symons's translation and notes is great throughout.

The translation also takes the liberty of imposing some artificial consistency on ,Elfric's technical language. For certain components of the mass and Office, he may, in accordance with the practice of his time, use various terms interchangeably. In such instances it has seemed preferable to use the same modern English equivalent throughout. The reader will therefore observe that English 'collect', for example, translates not only *collecta*, but also *prima oratio missae*, or simply *oratio* or *prex* where 'collect' is clearly meant. Similarly fluid are klfric's names for certain of the liturgical seasons and hours. Here, too, I have opted for consistency, so *Pascha* or *Pascha Donuni* = 'Easter'; in *Natiuitate* (or *Natale*) *Domini* (or *Christi*) = 'Christmas', and so on. To avoid the confusion often caused by the English term 'Matins', I have rendered *neatutinales laudes*. (*laudes*) *naatutinae*, (*officiunz*) *naatutinunt*, etc. uniformly as 'Lauds'. There is no similar ambiguity surrounding terms for the Night Office, which I simply call 'Nocturns' or 'Vigil(s)', following fElfric's own practice.

Biblical quotations in English, including psalm incipits, are taken from the Douai-Reims translation of the Vulgate (1582-1609) as revised by Richard Challoner (1749-50; repr. Baltimore, 1899, and Rockford, IL, 1971). Other liturgical incipits have required variable treatment: for formae drawn directly from scripture, I have simply quoted the Douai Bible; for those that only echo scripture or are completely non-biblical, I have often relied on English translations in

the dual-language Ideal Daily Missal, with Vespers for Sundays and Feasts, Compiled from the Missale Romanum, ed. S. P. Juergens (Montreal, 1934). Obviously, incipits so 'Englished' may not translate the Latin directly but aim to give a version approximate in length and sense. For the first responsory at Nocturns in Pentecost week, for example, fElfric gives the incipit 'Dum complerentur' (LME 72), which I render by the Douai translation of the biblical source (Acts 11.1) as 'When [the days of the Pentecost} were accomplished'. Any loss of literal accuracy is justified by the avoidance of a nonsensically terse 'When were accomplished', and square brackets may again indicate words not present in the Latin. Because there are no standard English translations of the Office hymns that would be widely identifiable by their opening lines, I leave these incipits in their more fzmiliar Latin. They, and almost all quoted matter, are further identified in the commentary. Where foreign words or phrases appear in the English translation, I have normalized the spelling and made such minor substitutions as 'Kyrie eleison' for the manuscript Kyr(r)ieleison. Capitalization of liturgical terms and the nomina sacra in the translation follow standard English practice as outlined by the editors of this series.

THE COMMENTARY

Superscript numbers running in a single series through the Latin text indicate words and phrases further discussed in the appended commentary, [which aims to complement rather than supersede Hallinger's notes to the CCM edition. The latter help to situate the LME in the wider development of Western monastic liturgy and so will remain indispensable for all who wish to study iElfric's customary in those terms.](#) The present commentary continues, rather, the emphasis of the preceding introductory chapters: namely, that the LME, while occasionally significant from the broad perspective of comparative liturgy, is fascinating throughout as a witness to the reception of specific, identifiable liturgical sources. The aims of my notes are twofold: first, to document these immediate sources and distinguish them from analogues. There is, in fact, very little in the LME that iElfric could not have drawn from the Concordia, Amalarius and the liturgical books proper. My emphasis on written sources in the commentary is especially relevant if, as I have suggested, Alfric's LME is (typically for its author) a scholarly, editorial production - a work, as it were, of the library as much as of the choir.³ My second aim has been to supply as much as possible of the information that the text takes for granted, and so make the content of the LME more accessible to Anglo-Saxonists and others who, though perhaps

interested in iElfric, may lack the degree of familiarity with the medieval mass and Office presumed by the CCM editors.⁴ Explanations of this order will, I fear, try the patience of knowledgeable liturgists, but they also usefully demonstrate the extent of technical knowledge demanded by the LME of its readers. Even with such modest goals, opportunities for comment and elaboration are almost infinite. Clearly, some limits have had to be imposed, but I hope to have provided in the space available a balanced discussion that throws into relief the unique, interesting and problematic features of the LME.

Although the method of the commentary is not broadly comparative, the attempt to supply information that is understood in the text necessarily relies on external liturgical sources of appropriate date and provenance. Turning to the English manuscripts that might serve this function, one finds that sacramentaries, collectars, hymnals and pontificals survive in small numbers, but evidence of some very pertinent types of book - antiphoners, Office lectionaries and other customaries - is meagre or nonexistent. The following external sources are frequently cited; the classification, date and origin (or provenance) of each follows Gneuss's inventory of Anglo-Saxon liturgical books.⁵

- Ben.ARob.* *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. Wilson. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 369 (Y. 7). Pontifical and benedictional: New Minster, Winchester, s. x². Cited by page number of edition.
- Cant.Ben.* *The Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. Woolley. London, BL, Harley 2892. Benedictional: Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi¹. Cited by page number of edition.
- Claud.Pont.I* *Claudius Pontificals I*, ed. Turner, pp. 1–88. London, BL, Cotton Claudius A. iii, fols. 31–86 and 106–50. Pontifical and benedictional: Worcester or York, s. x/xi and xi¹. Cited by page number of edition.
- Corp.41* *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41*, ed. Grant. Portions of a sacramentary copied into the margins of a manuscript of the Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*: Exeter provenance, s. xi¹. Cited by page number of edition, or manuscript page (for unedited material).
- DEC* *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*. Extracts from the *Regularis concordia* and other sources; two versions in manuscripts of s. xi (CCCC 190, and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1382 [U. 109]). Cited by section numbers of Jones, 'Two Composite Texts'.

- IBA** *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis*. Extracts from Amalarius's *Liber officialis* and other sources in two manuscripts of s. xi (listed under *DEC*, above). Cited by section numbers of Jones, 'Two Composite Texts'.
- Leofr.Coll.* *The Leofric Collectar*, ed. Dewick and Frere. London, BL, Harley 2961. Collectar and hymnal (secular usage): Exeter, s. xi^{med}. Cited by volume and page number of edition.
- Leofr.Miss.* *The Leofric Missal*, ed. Warren. Oxford, BL, Bodley 579. Sacramentary etc.: northeastern France, s. ix², with additions from ?Glastonbury, s. x², and Exeter, s. xi^{med}. Cited by page number of edition.
- Miss.NMin.* *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Turner. Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, 330. An early *missale plenum*: New Minster, Winchester, s. xi². Cited by page number of edition.
- Miss.RJum.* *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. Wilson. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 274 (Y. 6). Sacramentary: ?Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi¹. Cited by page number of edition.
- Miss.StAug.* *The Missal of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. Rule. CCC 270. Sacramentary: St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi². Cited by page number of edition.
- Pont.Egb.* The 'Egbert Pontifical', in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, pp. 3–153. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10575. Pontifical: origin and English provenance unknown, s. x². Cited by page number of edition.
- Pont.Lan.* *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. Doble. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 368 (A. 27). Pontifical: Crediton, s. xi¹ⁿ. Cited by page number of edition.
- Port.Wulst.* *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, ed. Hughes. CCC 391. A 'proto-breviary', including calendar, psalter, hymnal, collectar and various offices (monastic usage): Worcester, s. xi². Cited by volume and page number.
- Winch.Sacr.* *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, ed. Davril. Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 127 (105). Sacramentary: Winchcombe, s. x². Cited by text number of edition.
- Worc.Ant.* The 'Worcester Antiphoner', facs. ed. as *Antiphonaire monastique, xiii^e siècle*. Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160. Worcester, s. xiii. Cited by page number of the facsimile edition.

Abbreviations used for the several editions of the *Regularis concordia* are given in the general list at the beginning of the volume. Even though Kornexl's Latin text is often superior, I usually refer to the Symons-Spath section numbers so that my notes will better mesh with the CCM apparatus and other indices. (A table for the conversion of section numbers in the CCM edition to those of RC (Symons) and (Kornexl) is included at the end of this book.) Quotations from Amalarius (*Lib.off.*) are from Hanssens's critical edition, among which significant variants from the *Retractatio prima* (RI) are occasionally noted. Pseudo-Amalarian material preserved in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 154 (= RI(Sa)) is quoted from that manuscript, with modern punctuation and capitalization added. All biblical references follow *Biblia sacra iuxta uulgatam uersionem*, ed. R. Weber et al., 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1983). The Vulgate numbering and 'Gallican' version of the psalter are assumed throughout, unless otherwise noted.

./Elfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham

TEXT

I eElfricusa abbas Egneshamnensibus fratribus salutem in Christo.'

Ecce, uideo uobiscum degens uos necesse habere, quia nuper rogatu IEpelmaeri² ad monachicum habitum ordinati estis, instrui ad mores monachiles dictis aut scriptis. Ideoque haec pauca de libro consuetudinum³ quern sanctus AMelwoldus Wintoniensis episcopus⁴ cum coepiscopis et abbatibus tempore Eadgarib felicissimi regis Anglorum undique collegit ac monachis instituit obseruandum,⁵ scriptitando demonstro, eo quod hactenus predictus libellus uestrae fraternitati incognitus habetur.⁶ Fateor me ualde timide id praesumere, sed nec audeo omnia uobis intimare, quae in scola eius degens multis annis de moribus seu consuetudinibus didici,⁷ ne forte fastidientes distriktionem tante obseruantiae nec saltem uelitis auditum prebere narranti. Tamen, ne expertesc tam salubris doctrine remaneatis, aliqua quae regula nostra non tangit huic cartule inero uobisque legenda committo, addens etiam aliqua de libro Amalarii presbiteri.⁸ Valete feliciter in Christo.

2 Kalendis enim Octobris, exceptis dominicis et festiuis diebus, primo diluculo prima canenda est⁹ cum septem psalmis et letaniis,¹⁰ deinde uacent lectionibus usquequo signum tertie insonuerit.' 1 Calceant se tunc et lauent et orationes faciant¹² - scola simul¹³ et seniores singillatim - et spargant [p. 238] se aqua benedicta. Finita tertia fiat prima missa, postea capitulum. Post sextam horam faciant missam de die,¹⁴ qua finita decantent nonam. Nam de ceteris regula sancta dicit.

3 Omni die ter faciente cunt orationes tres in oratorio:¹⁵ tres in nocte, audito primo signo;¹⁶ tres ante primam tota estate (et in hieme ante tertiam); tres post completorium, cum conpunctione spiritali ac benedictione commen- dantes se Den et aspergentes se aqua sanctificata et lectulos eorum omni nocte.¹⁷

./Elfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham

TRANSLATION

1 Abbot Alfric to the brothers of Eynsham: Greetings in Christ.

Behold, while dwelling with you I observe that, because you have recently been ordained to the monastic habit at i thelmoer's request, you need to be instructed in monastic customs by both the spoken and the written word. I am therefore setting forth in writing these few things from the customary that St Iethelwold, bishop of Winchester, together with his fellow bishops and abbots in the time of most blessed Edgar, king of the English, compiled from various sources and established for monks to observe, because until now the aforesaid little book has been unknown to your brotherhood. It is, I confess, with great trepidation that I presume to do so, nor do I dare to convey to you all those things that I learned about customs and usages while abiding for many years in his [scil. fEthelwold's} school, lest you draw back at the strictness of so great an observance and not even wish to give me a hearing as I speak. Nevertheless, in order that you should not remain deprived of such salubrious teaching, I include in this document certain matters upon which our Rule does not touch. These I entrust to you to read, adding, too, certain points from the book of the priest Amalarius. I bid you health and happiness in Christ.

2 [From] the Kalends of October, excluding Sundays and feast days, Prime should be sung at first light, together with the seven psalms and the litanies. Then they [scil. the monks} shall retire to their reading until the bell for Terce rings. Then let them put on their day shoes, wash and say their prayers - the children together as a group, the senior monks individually - then sprinkle themselves with holy water. When Terce is over, the first mass shall take place, then Chapter. After the hour of Sext they shall celebrate the mass of the day and, when that is finished, chant None. The holy Rule tells of the rest.

3 Every day three prayers are to be said thrice in church: three at night, at the sound of the first bell; three before Prime during the entire summer period (and before Terce in the winter period); three after Compline, as every night [the monks] commend themselves to God with compunction of spirit and a blessing and sprinkle

themselves and their beds with holy water.

4 Pro rege et pro benefactoribus¹⁸ omnibus horis⁹ duo psalmi canendi cunt cum dominica oratione et precibus et oratione.²⁰ Statim post nocturnam decantent 'Domine ne in furore tuo' primum, 'Exaudiat to Dominus';²¹ post matutinas 'Beati quorum', 'Inclina Domine'²² coniunctima sub una collecta illius hore;²³ post primam 'Domine ne in furore tuo' (ii) pro temptatione, 'Miserere mei, Deus'²⁴ pro defunctis fratribus; post tertiam 'Vsquequo Domine', 'Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei';²⁵ post sextam 'Deus misereatur nostri', 'Domine exaudi' (i).²⁶ Post missam etiam 'Exaudiat to Dominus', 'Ad to leuauui oculos meos',²⁷ cum precibus tantum et oratione congrua; post nonam 'Qui regis Israel', 'De profundis';²⁸ post uesperam 'Benedixisti Domine', 'Domine exaudi' (ii)²⁹ coniunctim sub unab oratione ipsius sinaxis;³⁰ post completorium 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende', 'Leuauui oculos meos'³¹ similiter sub una collecta.

5 Dominicis uero diebus et festiuis³² semper post primam, facto signo a priore,³³ eant fratres ad capitulum.³⁴ Quo expleto [p. 239] fiat prima missa, deinde signum ad tertiam, et sanctificent salem et aquam pergentes ad processionem, dominicis diebus tantum.³⁵ Similiter a Pascha post primam capitulum agendum est, uerum ab octauis Pentecosten tota estate ferialibus diebus statim post primam, finita letania, matutinalis missa agenda est, et deinde eant ad capitulum.³⁶

6 Surgentes a capitulo³⁷ canant quinque psalmos pro defunctis fratribus: 'Verba mea',³⁸ 'Domine ne in furore tuo',³⁹ 'Dilexi quoniam', 'Credidi propter', 'De profundis',⁴⁰ quos sequatur dominica oratio cum collecta.⁴¹

7 Dominicis tamen diebus⁴² protendatur prima.⁴³ Et sedeat abbas in claustro una cum fratribus et exeant singuli ad confessionem,⁴⁴ humiliter illi confitentes quicquid tota ebdomada inpu gnante aduersario commiserint.

8 Omni dominica die siue sollempni eant fratres ad pacem et eucharistiam accipiant,⁴⁵ exceptis his qui antea missam fecerunt.⁴⁶ Si forte alicui hoc displicuerit, audiat quid beatus Augustinus de hoc dicat: 'Qui cotidie', inquit, 'non meretur accipere, non meretur post annum accipere.'⁴⁷

9 Ergo regularium monachorum consuetudo⁴⁸ non sinit ut aliquis frater neglegenter occurrat horis canonicis, sed facto signo conueniant omnes ad orationem, et intenti incipiant simul sinaxim simulque finiant, omnes stantes exceptis egrotantibus aut qui in minutione sunt

4 For the king and benefactors two psalms are to be sung, together with the Lord's Prayer, preces and a collect, at every one of the hours. Immediately after Nocturns they shall sing the first 'O Lord, [rebuke me] not in thy indignation' [and] 'May the Lord hear thee'; after Lauds 'Blessed are they' [and] 'Incline [thy ear], O Lord' together under the single collect of that hour; after Prime '[Rebuke me] not, O Lord, in thy indignation' (ii) against temptation [and] 'Have mercy on me, O God' for departed brothers; after Terce 'How long, O Lord' [and] 'Have mercy on me, O God, have mercy on me'; after Sext 'May God have mercy on us' [and] 'Hear, O Lord' (i). After mass, too, 'May the Lord hear thee' [and] 'To thee have I lifted up my eyes' with the preces only and the appropriate collect; after None '[Give ear], O thou that rulest Israel' [and] 'Out of the depths'; after Vespers 'O Lord, thou hast blessed' [and] 'Hear, O Lord' (ii) combined under the single collect of that hour; after Compline 'O God, come to my assistance' [and] 'I have lifted up my eyes' likewise under a single collect.

5 But always on Sundays and feasts at the prior's signal the brothers shall proceed to Chapter after Prime. When Chapter has concluded, the first mass shall take place, followed by the bell for Terce, and, on Sundays only, they shall bless salt and water and carry on with the procession. Similarly, from Easter [onwards] Chapter is to be held after Prime, but, on ferias after the Octave of Pentecost and in the entire summer period, the matutinal mass is to be said immediately after Prime (when the litany has ended), and then they shall go to Chapter.

6 Rising from Chapter they shall sing five psalms for the departed brothers: '[Give ear, O Lord, to] my words', 'O Lord, [rebuke me] not in thy indignation', 'I have loved, because', 'I have believed, therefore' [and] 'Out of the depths', followed by the Lord's Prayer and a collect.

7 On Sundays, however, Prime shall be prolonged; and the abbot shall sit in the cloister together with the brothers, and one by one they shall go to confession, humbly confessing to him whatever they have done at the Enemy's instigation during the entire [past] week.

8 On every Sunday or solemnity the brothers shall exchange the peace and receive the eucharist, except for those who have already said mass. Should this displease anyone, let him listen to what blessed Augustine says on the matter: 'He who does not deserve to receive daily does not deserve to receive once a year.'

9 The custom of monks living under the Rule, then, does not permit any brother to be negligent in attending the canonical hours; but at the bell they shall all assemble for prayer and attentively begin the Office together and finish it together, all standing except for those who are sick or undergoing bloodletting.

10 Dominicis diebus matutinalis missa de sancta Trinitate⁵⁰ celebranda est, {p. 2401 nisi alia festiuitas occurrerit. Nam ferialibus diebus de quacumque necessitate euenerit⁵¹ facienda est.

11 Igitur sexta feria tota estate de sancta cruce principalis missa facienda est, et in sabbato de sancta Maria,⁵² nisi alia festiuitas occurrerit.

12 Et omni die, decantatis matutinalibus laudibus, dicatur antiphona de sancta cruce et de sancta Maria et de sancto cuius reliquie ibi habentur.⁵³ Similiter finita uespera faciant usque Aduentum Domini.⁵⁴ Vigilia quoque pro defunctis⁵⁵ more solito, exceptis festiuis diebus, facienda est.

13 A Calendis Nouembris⁵⁶ dominica uespera ⁵⁷ canatur hymnus⁵⁸ 'O lux beata', ad completorium 'Christe qui lux es', ad nocturnas uero 'Primo dierum'. Et ad matutinas dicatur 'Aeterne return', et ad uesperum 'Lucis creator'. ⁵⁹ Iste ordo hymnorum omni die dominica tenendus est usque duas septimanas ante Pasca Domini.

Omnibus diebus toto anno canatur ad primam 'Iam lucis orto sidere', ad tertiam 'Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus', ad sextam 'Rector potens', ad nonam 'Rerum Deus'. ⁶⁰

De Aduentu Domini ad uesperam 'Conditor alme siderum', ad nocturnas 'Verbum supernum', ad matutinas 'Vox clara'.⁶¹ In Natiuitate Christi ad uesperam 'Christe redemptor omnium', ad nocturnas 'A Patre unigenitus', ad matutinas 'A solis ortus cardine' usque 'Hostis Herodes',⁶² quia 'Veni redemptor' et 'Audi redemptor' non uidentur sapientibus honeste esse compositos.⁶³ In uigilia Epiphaniae 'Hostis Herodes impie', ad nocturnas [p. 2411] turnas item 'A Patre unigenitus', ad matutinas 'Iesus refulsit omnium'.⁶⁴ In Purificatione sanctae Mariae ad uesperam 'Quod chorus uatum', ad nocturnas 'Quern terra', ad matutinas 'A Solis ortus'.⁶⁵

In Septuagesima ad uesperam 'Alleluia dulce carmen', ad nocturnas 'Alleluia piis edite laudibus', ad matutinas 'Almum siderexa jam patrie decus'.⁶⁶ In Quadragesima ad uesperam 'Audi benigne conditor', ad nocturnas 'Clarum decus ieiunii', ad matutinas 'Iesu

quadragenarie',⁶⁷ per quattuor ebdomadas continue.⁶⁸ In Passione Domini ad uesperam 'Vexilla regis', ad nocturnam 'Arbor decora', ad matutinum 'Auctor salutis'.^{C1} In tota Quadragesima ferialibus diebus canatur ad tertiam 'Dei fide qua uiuimus', ad sextam 'Meridie orandum est', ad nonam 'Perfecto trino numero'.⁷⁰

14 Brumali uero tempore concedatur fratribus accessus ignis, si necessitas compulerit; in refectorio tamen hoc minime agatur. Et si frigoris nimietas incubuerit, in domo⁷¹ legant omnes simul et canant. Sin autem temperies tranquilla aderit, sedeant pariter omnes in claustro.

10 The matutinal mass celebrated on Sundays shall be that of the Holy Trinity unless some other feast should occur. On ferias [the matutinal mass] is to be celebrated for whatever need should befall.

11 Accordingly on Fridays in the summer period the mass of the day shall be that of the Holy Cross and on Saturdays that of St Mary, unless some other feast should occur.

12 And after Lauds have been sung every day, antiphons of the Holy Cross, of St Mary and of the saint whose relics are kept there shall be said. At the end of Vespers [the monks] shall do the same, until Advent. Vigils of the Dead, too, are to be celebrated in the usual way except on feast days.

13 From the Kalends of November, at Vespers for Sunday the hymn 'O lux beata' shall be sung, [and] at Compline 'Christe qui lux es', but at Nocturns 'Primo dierum'. And at Lauds 'Aeterne rerum' shall be said, and at Vespers 'Lucis creator'. This arrangement of hymns shall be observed every Sunday up until the two weeks before Easter.

At Prime 'Iam lucis orto sidere', at Terce 'Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus', at Sext 'Rector potens' [and] at None 'Rerum Deus' shall be sung daily throughout the entire year.

In Advent: at Vespers 'Conditor alme siderum', at Nocturns 'Verbum supernum', at Lauds 'Vox clara'. At Christmas: at Vespers 'Christe redemptor omnium', at Nocturns 'A Patre unigenitus', at Lauds 'A solis ortus cardine' as far as 'Hostis Herodes', because to the experts 'Veni redemptor' and 'Audi redemptor' do not seem worthily composed. At the Vigil of Epiphany: [at Vespers] 'Hostis Herodes impie', at Nocturns 'A Patre unigenitus' [and] at Lauds 'Iesus refulsit omnium'. On the Purification of St Mary: at Vespers 'Quod chorus uatum', at Nocturns 'Quern terra' [and] at Lauds 'A solis ortus'.

In Septuagesima: at Vespers 'Alleluia dulce carmen', at Nocturns 'Alleluia piis edite laudibus' [and] at Lauds 'Almum sidereae iam patriae decus'. In Lent: at Vespers 'Audi benigne conditor', at Nocturns 'Clarum decus ieiunii' [and] at Lauds 'Iesu quadragenariae', repeatedly through the [first] four weeks. In Passiontide: at Vespers 'Vexilla regis', at Nocturns 'Arbor decora' {and] at Lauds 'Auctor salutis'. On ferias throughout the whole of Lent, at Terce 'Dei fide qua uiuimus' shall be sung, at Sext 'Meridie orandum est' [and] at None 'Perfecto trino numero'.

14 During the winter period the brothers shall be granted access to a fire, should necessity require it; this shall not be done in the refectory, however. And should the severe cold persist, let them all read and chant together in the dornus. But should the weather be mild, let them all sit together in the cloister.

15 A festiuitate sancti Martini⁷² post nonam non bibant fratres⁷³ festiuis diebus usque ad Purificationem sanctae Mariae.

16 In Aduentu Domini non canant 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'⁷⁴ nec in cibos mittant pinguedinem.⁷⁵ Festiuis tamen diebus licet uti pinguedine.

17 Vigilia Natalis Domini dum eiusdem natalis mentio a lectore recitetur in capitulo,⁷⁶ omnes pariter surgentes genua flectent, gratias agentes [p. 2421 propter eius ineffabilem pietatem qua mundum a laqueis diaboli redempturus descendit.⁷⁷ Sabbato quoque Sancto Pasce idipsum agendum est, quamuis in martirlogio hoc non habeatur.

18 Vespere Natiuitatis Domini canantur antiphone congrue de ipsa comple-
tione temporis⁷⁸ ad psalmos. In cuius noctis uigilia in quarto responsorio,⁷⁹ ut honorificentius agatur, duo simul cantent. Et post euuangelium⁸¹¹ lauent se et fiat missa de nocte,⁸¹ deinde matutinales laudes de die. Et, si nondum dieia aurora eluxerit, cantent laudes de omnibus sanctis; si autem eluxerit, celebrent missam matutinalem quae in lucis crepusculo celebranda est, et dehinc canant de omnibus sanctis.

19 Ipso namque die in capitulo prosternant se fratres, abbati confessionem facientes ex intimo corde, et abbas respondeat 'Misereatur'.⁸² Deinde ipse solotenus se prosternens idipsum faciat et fratres singuli dicant 'Misereatur', et abbas compleat confessionem cum precibus et oratione congrua. Idem quoque modus confessionis prima a Pascalis sollempnitatis die agatur.

20 Facto signo ad tertiam induant se fratres et sint ornati ad tertiam.⁸³ Et omni die, quando missa celebratur, sint ministri ante sinaxim induti, ne uideantur inhoneste discurrere dum opus Dei celebrator. Ad uesperam ipsius diei dicantur antiphone *Tecum principium* et reliquae.⁸⁴

21 Reliquis uero tribus diebus dicantur antiphone de ipsis sanctis [p. 243] cum psalmis ipsi sollempnitati competentibus.⁸⁵ His peractis rursum repetatur *'Tecum principium'* usque Octauas Domini.

22 His autem diebus inter Innocentium festiuitatem et Octauas Domini, quia *'Gloria in excelsis Deo'* ob tante festiuitatis honorificentiam ad missam celebratur, ad nocturnam et ad uesperam uti ad missam omnia signa pulsantur,⁸⁶ licet *'Te Deum laudamus'* non cantetur nec euuangelium legatur. Cerei etiam accendantur et turibulum turificando deportetur.⁸⁷ In festiuitate Innocentium non canitur *'Gloria in excelsis Deo'* nec *'Alleluia'* ad missam propter mestitiam plangentium matrum illorum necem crudelem.⁸⁸

15 From the feast of St Martin until the Purification of St Mary, the brothers are not to take a drink after None on feast days.

16 In Advent they shall not sing *'Glory to God in the highest'* or put lard in their food. On feast days, however, it is permitted to use lard.

17 On the Vigil of Christ's Nativity, when the reader in Chapter makes mention of that same birth, all shall rise together and genuflect to give thanks for his [scil. Christ's] ineffable kindness, whereby he descended in order to save the world from the Devil's snares. This same [custom] is to be done on Holy Saturday, too, even though it is not [prescribed] in the martyrology.

18 At Vespers of Christmas, antiphons appropriate to the fullness of time shall be sung at the psalms. At Vigils on this night, two shall sing the fourth responsory together, in order that it may be done with greater reverence. And after the gospel they shall wash, then the mass in nocte shall take place, followed by Lauds of the day. And if the day has not yet dawned, they shall sing Lauds of All Saints; but if it has dawned, they shall celebrate the matutinal mass (which is to be celebrated at daybreak) and then sing [Lauds] of All Saints.

19 In Chapter on that day [soil. Christmas], the brothers shall prostrate themselves, making their confession to the abbot from the depths of their hearts, and he shall respond with *'May [almighty God] have mercy'*. Then he, prostrating himself on the ground, shall do the

same, and one by one the brothers shall say 'May [almighty God] have mercy', and the abbot shall finish the confession with preces and an appropriate collect. This same order of confession shall also be observed on the first day after the solemnity of Easter.

20 At the bell for Terce, the brothers shall dress and be vested for Terce. And every day, when mass is celebrated, the ministers are to be vested before the service [of Terce], lest they seem to be scurrying about irreverently during the celebration of the Divine Office. At Vespers of the same day [al. Christmas], the antiphons 'With thee is the principality' and the rest are to be said.

21 But on the three remaining days, [proper] antiphons of the saints themselves shall be said, together with the psalms appropriate to the solemnity [of Christmas]. When these days are over, [the series] 'With thee is the principality' shall be repeated until the Octave of Christmas.

22 Moreover, on these days between the feast of the Holy Innocents and the Octave of Christmas, because 'Glory to God in the highest' is sung at mass to show reverence for so great a feast, all the bells are to be rung at Nocturns and Vespers just as they are at mass, even though the [hymn] 'We praise thee, O God' is not sung, nor the gospel read. Candles shall also be lit, and a thurible with burning incense shall be carried. On the feast of the Innocents neither 'Glory to God in the highest' nor 'Alleluia' is sung at mass on account of the sadness of the mothers lamenting their [scil. the Innocents'] cruel slaughter.

23 Ab Octauis Domini non cantetur 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' nec sonentur signa simul, exceptis festiuis diebus, sed agatur obedientia⁸⁹ et psallantur cum antiphonaa ad uesperam psalmi feriales⁹⁰ usque octauas Epiphaniae.

24 In uigilia uero Epiphanie non teneatur ieiunium,⁹¹ et ad uesperam decantent psalmos ipsius uespere cum antiphonis de eadem sollempnitate.⁹²

Amalarius dicit: In Epiphania Domini omittimus inuitatorium ut distinguamur ab inuitatione Herodis, qui congregauit scribas et principes sacerdotum ut disceret ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur, quem cogitabat interficere.⁹³ Ad nocturnas canimus psalmum 'Deus noster refugium' prepostero ordine, quia magi uenerunt adorare Dominum antequam baptizatus esset; et ideo cantamus antiphonam 'Venire adoremus eum' prius et postea 'Fluminis [p. 2441 impetus laetificat'.⁹⁴

25 In Purificatione⁹⁵ sanctae Mariae, audito signo ad tertiam,⁹⁶ induant se fratres albis et eant, si aura sic permiserit,⁹⁷ ad processionem. Et decantata antiphona cum oratione in ueneratione ipsius sancti cui ecclesia illa ad quam itur dedicata est,⁹⁸ benedicat abbas, indutus stola et cappa, candelas et conspergata aqua benedicta et turificet. Et sic, accepto cereo ab edituo, psallentibus cunctis, accipiant singuli singular acceptasque accendant, reuertentes uero ad ecclesiam cantando.⁹⁹ Post antiphonam 'Responsum accepit Symeon'¹⁰⁰ dicatur oratio ad ostiumb 'Erudi quaesumus Domine'.¹⁰¹ Et intrantes ecclesiam canant 'Cum inducerent' cum dominica oratione,¹⁰² quam sequatur tertia. Et teneant luminaria donec ea offerant sacerdoti post euuangelium, hoc significante, ut unusquisque clarus et lucidus appareat bonis operibus in Presentatione Domini, qui est lux mundi.¹⁰³

26 In Septuagessima¹¹⁴ dimittimus cantica caelestia,¹⁰⁵ hoc est 'Alleluia' et 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', usque in uigiliam Pascae. Et humiliamur sponte pro peccatis nostris sicut humiliatus est Hebraicus populus inuitus, septuaginta annis seruiens regi Babilonis sine uoce gaudii et letitiae, uoce sponsi et sponse.¹⁰⁶ Ergo officia ipsa in Septuagessima monent nos preparare nosmetipsos ad bellum spiritale, cum dicitur in ipsa oratione misse 'ut qui iuste pro peccatis [p. 245] nostris affligimur', et in introitu 'Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis', et in epistola 'Omnis enim qui in agone contendit ab omnibus se abstinet'.¹⁰⁷ Nam Septuagessima secundum disputationem Amalarii dominica die nouem ebdomadas ante Pascha Domini incipit et post Pascha Domini in septima sabbati finitur. 1(18)

23 Beginning with the Octave of Christmas, 'Glory to God in the highest' is not sung nor are the bells rung together, save on feast days; but work shall be done, and the ferial psalms with their antiphon shall be chanted at Vespers until the Octave of Epiphany.

24 But on the Vigil of Epiphany no fast shall be kept, and at Vespers they shall sing the psalms of that [day's] Vespers with antiphons of the same solemnity.

Amalarius says: On Epiphany we omit the invitatory, that we may be distinguished [in our invitation] from the invitation of Herod, who gathered the scribes and the chief priests in order to learn from them where Christ would be born, whom he was planning to kill. At Nocturns we sing the psalm 'Our God is our refuge' out of sequence, because the Magi came to worship the Lord before he had been baptized; and we therefore sing the antiphon 'Come let us praise [the

Lord with joy]' first, and afterwards The stream of the river maketh [the city of God} joyful'.

25 On the Purification of St Mary, at the sound of the bell for Terce, the brothers shall vest in albs and make their way to the procession, weather permitting. And when the antiphon, together with its collect, has been sung in honour of the saint to whom that church is dedicated which is the destination of the procession, the abbot, vested in a stole and cope, shall bless the candles, sprinkle them with holy water and cense them. And so, after [the abbot] has received his candle from the sacristan, and as all are chanting, every man shall receive his own candle and light it, and they shall make their way, while singing, back to the [main] church. After the antiphon 'Simeon received an answer', the prayer 'Teach [us], we implore thee, O Lord' shall be said at the entrance [of the church]. And entering the church they shall sing 'When [his parents] brought in [the child Jesus], followed by the Lord's Prayer, then Terce. And they shall keep holding their candles until they offer them to the priest after the gospel reading [at mass], thereby signifying that each and every person should appear bright and shining in good works at the Presentation of the Lord, who is the light of the world.

26 In Septuagesima we dismiss the heavenly songs, that is, 'Alleluia' and 'Glory to God in the highest', until the Vigil of Easter, and we humiliate ourselves willingly for our sins, just as the Hebrew people was humiliated unwillingly for seventy years, serving the king of Babylon without the voice of joy and happiness, the voice of the bridegroom and the bride. The liturgy itself of Septuagesima therefore admonishes us to prepare ourselves for spiritual warfare, when it is said in the mass collect, 'that we who are justly afflicted for our sins', and in the introit, 'the groans of death have surrounded me', and in the epistle, 'everyone that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things'. According to the reckoning of Amalarius, Septuagesima begins on the Sunday nine weeks before Easter and ends on the Saturday after Easter.

Consuetudo dicit intermittere pinguedinemLO9 a Septuagesima. Et hoc sciendum est, quod, dimissa 'Alleluia', sex posteriores psalmi ad nocturnam cum antiphonis canendi sunt:110 secunda feria uidelicet i. antiphona 'Vt non delinquam in lingua mea', ii. antiphona 'Sang Domine animam meam, quia peccauit tibi', iii. antiphona 'Eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum'.' 11 Feria tertia .i. antiphona 'Auertit Dominus captiuitatem plebis sue', ii. antiphona 'Intende in me et exaudi me Domine', iii. antiphona Juste iudicate filii

hominum'. 112 Feria quarta J. antiphona 'Quaerite Dominum et uiuet anima uestra', ii. antiphona 'Domine Deus in adiutorium meum intende', iii. antiphona 'Quam bonus Israel Deus'.113 Feria quinta <.i.> a antiphona 'Exultate Deo adiutori nostro', ii. antiphona 'Tu solus altissimus super omnem terram', iii. antiphona 'Benedixisti Domine terram tuam'.114 Feria sextab i. antiphona 'Cantate Domino et benedicite nomini eius', ii. antiphona 'Quia mirabilia fecit Dominus', iii. antiphona 'Jubilare Deo omnis terra'.¹¹⁵ Sabbato i. antiphona 'Visita nos Domine in salutari tuo', ii. antiphona 'De necessitatibus meis eripe me Domine', iii. antiphona 'Confitebor Domino nimis in ore meo'.116

27 In Sexagesima¹¹⁷ circumdati sumus tribulationibus quam maximis ac si non esset locus euadendi. Vendidimus nos sub peccato; in nobis non est uirtus soluendi. [p. 246] Vnde dicitur in prima oratione Sexagesimae 'Deus qui conspicias quia ex nulla nostra uirtute subsistimus';¹¹⁸ similiter in ceteris officiis ipsius diei.

28 Quinquagesima¹¹⁹ in tertio gradu consistit. Antea dubitabamus utrum Dominus propius¹²⁰ nobiscum esset an non. Modo²²¹ tenemus illum et dicimus 'Esto mihi in Deum protectorem et in locum refugii'¹²² et cetera. Sic et in reliquis¹ officiis eiusdem diei.

Consuetudo docet abstinere a Quinquagesima a cibis qui de lacte siue de ouis fiunt.¹²³

29 Consuetudo: Quarta feria Capitis Ieiunii, nona decantata,¹²⁴ abbas ornatus stola benedicat cineres et imponat capitibus singulorum, quia legimus in ueteri et in nouo testamento paenitentes semetipsos cinere aspersisse, demonstrantes humanam naturam esse reuersuram in puluerem ob culpam prime preuocationis.¹²⁵ Incipiat interim cantor antiphonam 'Exaudi nos Domine'¹²⁶ cum psalmo¹²⁷ et 'Gloria', 'Kyrieleyson', 'Pater noster', psalmo 'Deus misereatur nostri', collecta.¹²⁸ Eant tunc ad processionem reliquas antiphonas decantando.¹²⁹ Venientes uero ad ecclesiam quo eunt,¹³⁰ cantent antiphonam de ipso sancto et dominicam orationem, flexis genibus,¹³¹ et psalmum 'Ad te leuaui oculos meos'¹³² cum precibus et oratione. Incipiant tunc cantores letaniam reuertentes ad matrem ecclesiam et induant se ministri ad missam.

The customary says to give up lard from Septuagesima onwards. This, too, must be known, that, in the absence of 'Alleluia', the second six psalms at Nocturns are to be sung with antiphons: namely, on Monday the first antiphon [shall be] 'That I sin not with my tongue', the second 'Heal my soul, O Lord, for I have sinned against thee', the third 'My heart hath uttered a good word'. On Tuesday the first

antiphon [shall be] 'The Lord hath turned away the captivity of his people', the second 'Be attentive to me and hear me, O Lord', the third 'Judge justly, ye sons of men'. On Wednesday the first antiphon [shall be] 'Seek ye God, and your soul shall live', the second 'Lord God, come to my assistance', the third 'How good is God to Israel'. On Thursday the [first] antiphon [shall be] 'Rejoice to God our helper', the second 'Thou alone art the most high over all the earth', the third 'Lord, thou hast blessed thy land'. On Friday the first antiphon [shall be] 'Sing ye to the Lord and bless his name', the second 'Because he hath done wonderful things', the third 'Sing joyfully to God, all the earth'. On Saturday the first antiphon [shall be] 'Visit us, O Lord, with thy salvation', the second 'Deliver me, O Lord, from my necessities', the third 'I will give great thanks to the Lord with my mouth'.

27 In Sexagesima we are surrounded by the greatest tribulations possible, as if there were no way of escape. We have sold ourselves under sin; the power of release does not lie within us. Wherefore it is said in the collect for Sexagesima, 'O God, you see that by no power of our own do we stand firm', and similarly in the other Offices of the day.

28 Quinquagesima is the third step. Previously we doubted whether or not the Lord was near to us. Now we cling to him and say, 'Be thou unto me a God, a protector and a house of refuge', and similarly in the remaining Offices of the same day.

From Quinquagesima onwards, the customary teaches to abstain from foods made of milk or eggs.

29 The customary: On Ash Wednesday, after None has been sung, the abbot, vested in a stole, shall bless ashes and put them on the heads of each and every person, because we read in the Old and New Testaments that penitents dusted themselves with ashes, showing that human nature would return to dust, on account of guilt for [man's] primordial transgression. Meanwhile the cantor shall begin the antiphon 'Hear us, O Lord' with a psalm, [then] 'Glory [be to the Father]', 'Kyrie eleison', 'Our Father', the psalm 'May God have mercy on us' [and a] collect. They shall then go to the procession singing the remaining antiphons. When they reach the destination church, they shall sing the antiphon of its saint and then, kneeling, the Lord's Prayer and the psalm 'To thee have I lifted up my eyes', with the preces and a collect. Then the cantors shall begin the litany as they [all] make their way back to the mother church, and the ministers shall vest for mass.

Igitur iste ordo processionis teneatur quarta et sexta feria usque in Cenam Domini [p. 2471 et ab octauis Pentecostes usque ad Exaltationem sanctae crucis,133 semper discalciatis pedibus.134 Sed excepto Capite Ieiuniib debent inchoate processionem cum antiphona 'Exsurge Domine'135 cum psalmo et 'Gloria'.

30 Amalarius: In Quadragesima136 aliqua pars pugne peracta est. Dicit nobis quema in Quinquagesima protectorem inuocauimus 'Inuocauit me et ego exaudiam eum'137 et cetera. Epistola ita 'Tempore accepto exaudiui te et in die salutis adiuui te.'138 In responsorio angeli Domini custodiunt nos. 139 In tractu scuto ueritatis circumdati sumus.140 In euangelio ad triumphum tendimus, ut dicamus inimico 'Vade retro Satanas.'141

In Quadragesima reliquie et cruces occultantur142 et uelamen inter sancta sanctorum et populum ponitur, quia absurdum putamus crucem adorare dum 'Alleluia' relinquimus. Si quis crucem adorare uult in Quadragesima, non habet opus in die Passionis Domini earn adorare nobiscum.

Consuetudo: In diebus Quadragesime aliquid nobis augendum143 diuine seruituti ad solitum pensum nostrae seruitutis censuimus (ut regula sancta hortatur), ita ut a capite Quadragesime usque ad Cenam Domini, festiuis exceptis diebus, cotidie post expletionem uniuscuiusque hore duos psalmos prostrati solo oratorii peroremus deuoti'144 eo scilicet ordine tit, matutinis finitis, mox dicantur duo psalmi 'Domine ne in furore tuo' et 'Ad Dominum',145 'Kyrieleyson', 'Pater noster', et preces pro peccatis146 et oratio.b [p. 2481 Ad primam psalmi 'Beati quorum', 'Leuaui'147 et reliqua ut supra. Ad tertiam psalmi 'Domine ne in furore tuo' (ii) et 'Letatus sum'. 148 Ad sextam psalmi 'Miserere mei Deus' et 'Ad te leuaui oculos meos'.149 Ad nonam psalmi 'Domine exaudi' et 'Nisi quia Dominus'.150 Ad uesperam psalmi 'De profundis', 'Qui confidunt'.151 Ad completorium psalmi 'Domine exaudi' (ii) et 'In conuertendo'.152

This order of procession, then, shall be kept on Wednesdays and Fridays up until Maundy Thursday, and from the Octave of Pentecost until [the feast of] the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and always in bare feet. But, except on Ash Wednesday, they should begin the procession with the antiphon 'Arise, O Lord' with the psalm and 'Glory [be to the Father]'.

30 Amalarius: In Lent a certain part of the fight is finished. He whom we called upon as a protector in Quinquagesima [now] says to us, 'He hath called upon me, and I shall hear him', and so on. The epistle

[says], 'In an accepted time have I heard thee; and in the day of salvation have I helped thee.' In the [gradual] response the Lord's angels protect us. In the tract we are surrounded by the shield of truth. In the gospel we head towards victory, that we may say to the Enemy, 'Begone, Satan!'

In Lent the relics and crosses are concealed, and a veil is placed between the Holy of Holies and the people, for we think it illogical to venerate the cross while we give up 'Alleluia'. If anyone wishes to venerate the cross in Lent, he has no need to venerate it together with us on the day of the Lord's Passion [i.e. Good Friday].

The customary: We have thought it right in the days of Lent, as the holy Rule admonishes, to add something to our divine service beyond the accustomed measure of our duty; accordingly, every day from Ash Wednesday until Maundy Thursday (feast days excepted), at the conclusion of every [liturgical] hour we are to prostrate ourselves on the floor of the church and fervently recite two psalms. This shall be the order: namely, that at the end of Lauds the two psalms 'O Lord, [rebuke me] not in thy indignation' and '[In my trouble I cried] to the Lord' shall be said immediately, [then] 'Kyrie eleison', 'Our Father' and the *proes pro peccatis* and a collect. At Prime the psalms [shall be] 'Blessed are they' [and] 'I have lifted up [my eyes]', and the rest as above. At Terce the psalms '[Rebuke me] not, O Lord, in thy indignation' (ii) and 'I rejoiced'. At Sext the psalms 'Have mercy on me, O God' and 'To thee have I lifted up my eyes'. At None the psalms 'Hear, O Lord' and 'If it had not been that the Lord [was with us]'. At Vespers the psalms 'Out of the depths' [and] 'They that trust'. [And] at Compline the psalms 'Hear, O Lord' (ii) and 'When [the Lord] brought back [the captivity of Sion]'.

In tota Quadragesima ferialibus diebus offerat unus chorus ad primam missam et alter ad missam maiorem.¹⁵³ Sabbato uero mediante Quadragesima tantum radent se fratres.¹⁵⁴

31 Amalarius: Dies Passionis Domini¹⁵⁵ computantur duobus ebdomadibus ante Pascha Domini. In illis diebus omittimus inuitatorium^{15C} et in responsoriis 'Gloriam' sanctae Trinitatis, quoniam per humilitatem ueniendum est ad Passionem Christi. Conformat se sancta ecclesia capiti suo et de glorificatione eius reticetur usque dum exaltetur per triumphum uictoriae. Due ebdomade passionis Christi duo tempora sunt huius mundi ante legem et sub lege. Dies uero Pasche in tertia ebdomada est, hoc est in tertio tempore gratiae Christi, in qua restauratur omnis amissa glorificatio. Nam in duobus prioribus temporibus Passio Christi prophetata est, et

in tertio, ea adimpleta, redemptionem et glorificationem et gratiam inuenimus.

32 In Die Palmarum, interim dum matutinalis missa canitur,¹⁵⁷ agatur a sacerdote cum quodam <puero> a processio in claustro, et finita missa procedant fratres ad maiorem processionem ubi palme benedicendae sunt,¹⁵⁸ albis induti si aura permiserit.¹⁵⁹ Et fi- [p. 249] nita orationet, processionis¹⁶¹¹ legat diaconus euuangelium 'Turba multa' usque 'Ecce mundus torus post eum abiit',¹⁶¹ quo expleto sequatur benedictio palmarum.¹⁶² Et aspergantur benedicta aqua et turificentur et diuidentur, inchoantibus pueris antiphonas 'Pueri Hebreorum'.¹⁶³ Transacta processione¹⁶⁴ subsistant ante ecclesiam et decantent pueri deintus 'Gloria laus' cum uersibus, omnibus respondentibus sicut mos est.⁶⁵ Quibus finitis, incipiente cantore responsorium 'Ingrediente Domino',¹⁶⁶ intrent ecclesiam agantque tertiam, sicut supradictum est.⁶⁷ Et teneant palmas in manibus usque dum offertorium cantetur, et eas post oblationem offerant sacerdoti.

Amalarius: Die Palmarum in memoriam illius rei⁶⁸ qua Israheliticus populus processerunt obuam Domino cum ramis palmarum, clamantes 'Osanna, benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini, rex Israel,' nos per ecclesias solemus portare ramos et clamare 'Osanna' propter triumphalem uictoriam Christi. 169

Eadem die ad Passionem Domini¹⁷⁰ diaconus dicat 'Dominus uobiscum' et respondent omnes 'Et cum spiritu tuo'; sed cum dicit 'Passio Domini' et reliqua, nullus respondeat 'Gloria tibi Domine.' Similiter ad illam Passionem quae legitur in quarta feria. Ad illam uero quae legitur in sexta feria non dicatur 'Dominus uobiscum' nec 'Gloria tibi Domine.'

On ferias throughout the whole of Lent, one choir shall make the offering at the first mass, the other at the principal mass. The brothers shall shave on mid-Lent Saturday only.

31 Amalarius: The days of the Lord's Passion are reckoned as the two weeks prior to Easter. In those days we omit the invitatory and the 'Glory [be]' to the Holy Trinity in our responsories, because it is necessary to approach the Passion of Christ in humility. The holy church patterns itself after its head, and silence is kept concerning his glorification until he is exalted through [his] triumphant victory. The two weeks of Christ's Passion are the two ages of this world, before and under the Law. But Easter day is in the third week, that is, in the third age, [that] of the grace of Christ, in which all the glory that was

lost is restored. For in the two prior ages Christ's Passion was foretold, and, upon its fulfilment in the third, we have found redemption, glory and grace.

32 On Palm Sunday, while the matutinal mass is being sung, the procession in the cloister shall be carried out by a priest, with a boy [as server]. When the mass is ended, the brothers, dressed in albs if the weather permits, shall conduct the greater procession [to that place] where the palms are to be blessed. And after the processional collect, the deacon shall read the gospel 'A great multitude', up to the words 'Behold, the whole world is gone after him'. When this has been done, the blessing of the palms shall follow: they are to be sprinkled with holy water, tensed and divided up while the boys begin the antiphons 'The Hebrew children' [and the rest]. At the end of the procession they shall stop before the church where, from within, boys shall sing 'All glory, laud and honour' with its verses, while the rest respond in the usual way. When these things have been done, they shall enter the church while the cantor begins the responsory 'As the Lord entered [the holy city]', and they shall celebrate Terce, as described above. And they shall hold the palms in their hands until the offertory is sung and, after the offering, present them to the priest.

Amalarius: On Palm Sunday, in memory of that occasion when the people of Israel went forth with branches of palm to meet the Lord, crying 'Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel', it is our custom to carry branches through our churches and cry 'Hosanna' on account of Christ's triumphant victory.

On the same day, at [the reading of] the Lord's Passion, the deacon shall say 'The Lord be with you,' to which all respond 'And with thy spirit'; but when he says 'The Passion of the Lord' and so on, no one is to answer 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' and similarly at that Passion which is read on Wednesday. But at that [Passion] which is read on Friday, neither 'The Lord be with you' nor 'Glory be to thee, O Lord' shall be said.

33 In Cena Domini 17 i non dicimus ad nocturnas 'Domine labia mea aperies' nec 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende'⁷² cum 'Gloria Patri', quia haec sunt officia principis congregationis, et noster [p. 250] princeps Christus in hac nocte traditus est. Inuitatorium non canimus quia disperse sunt oues et non est pastor qui congreget. 'Gloria Patri' non canimus, quia Filius Patris inter iniquos deputatus est. Ante lectiones non petimus benedictionem nec dicimus 'Tu autem Domine'

,173 quia pastor noster qui benedictionem dare solet comprehensus est, et 'discipuli omnes relicto eo fugerunt'.¹¹⁴ Similiter facimus propter supradictas causas omnibus illis tribus noctibus.

In quibus noctibus etiam uiginti quattuor candelas accendimus quas ad singular antiphonas et ad singula responsoria extinguimus¹⁷⁵ propter discessum ueri solis, qui Christus est. Nam uiginti quattuor horis unus dies adimpletur, et nos hanc extinctionem totidem candelarum per tres noctes frequentamus, quia et noster sol triduo sepulchro uelatur.¹⁷⁶

Consuetudo docet debere, finita ultima antiphona in euuangelio¹⁷⁷ in Cena Domini, duos pueros psallere Sonora uoce 'Kyrrieleison' in australi porticu duosque respondere 'Christeleison' in boreali porticu, et in occidentali parte duos fratres reboare 'Domine miserere nobis', et omnem chorum simul respondere 'Christus Dominus factus est obediens usque ad mortem'.^{17 8} Faciant sic omnes ter et agant tacitas preces, flexis genibus, solito more. Qui mos cantilenae tribus noctibus uniformiter teneatur. Et si matutine ante lucem fuerint finite, fratres qui uoluerint ad suam redeant requiem.⁷⁹

34 Mane autem facto pullet edituus tabulam 1 £30 [p. 251] et cantent primam more canonico,¹⁸¹ scilicet 'Deus in nomine tuo', ¹¹² 'Beati immaculati' usque 'Legem pone' ¹⁸³ et cetera more solito. His tribus diebus, peracta prima, psallant psalterium ex integro unanimiter in choro et letanias agant prostrati,¹⁸⁴ et ceteras horas psallant more canonico. Ipso namque die psallant omnes horas simul sonoriter et preces singillatim tacite, Parasceue uero et sabbato singillatim et tacite, exceptis nocturnis.¹¹⁵ Parasceue etiam debent exercere nudipedalia usquequo crux adoretur.¹⁸⁶

35 Facto namque capitulo in Cena Domini, disalciant se fratres et lauent sacerdotes altaria et ceteri pauimenta ecclesiae, et non sit ea die celebratio missae in aliquo altari donec lauetur.¹¹⁷ In quo facto, dicit Amalarius, intellegimus lauationem quam exercuerat Christus erga discipulos suos, per quam iterum intellegimus remissionem quam debet unusquisque exercere erga fratrem suum.¹⁸⁸

33 At Nocturns of Maundy Thursday we do not say 'O Lord, thou wilt open my lips' or 'O God, come to my assistance' or 'Glory be to the Father' because these are the duties of the head of our community, and our head, Christ, was betrayed on this night. We do not sing the invitatory, because the sheep have been scattered and there is no shepherd to gather them. We do not sing 'Glory be to the Father' because the Son of the Father was reviled among the wicked. Before

the readings we do not seek a blessing, nor do we say 'But thou, O Lord, [have mercy]' because our shepherd who usually gives the blessing has been seized, and all of the disciples have 'abandoned him and fled'. We do these same things for the aforesaid reasons on all three nights.

On these nights we also light twenty-four candles, which we extinguish one by one at each antiphon and responsory because of the departure of the true sun, which is Christ. For a single day is made up of twenty-four hours, and we repeat this extinguishing of that same number of candles for three nights, because our sun, too, lies hidden in the tomb for three days.

The customary teaches that on Maundy Thursday, after the concluding antiphon of the [cantic] 'Blessed [be the Lord God of Israel]', two boys are to sing from the southern porch of the church 'Kyrie eleison' in full voice, and two respond from the northern porch 'Christe eleison', and from the western side two brothers sing back 'Lord have mercy on us', and the whole choir responds as one 'Christ became obedient unto death.' They shall all do this three times and, kneeling, say the preces in the usual way [but] silently. This choral custom is to be observed in the same way for three nights. Should Lauds conclude before daylight, the brothers who so desire may return to their beds.

34 But at daybreak the sacristan shall sound the tabula, and they shall sing Prime according to the secular Office, namely '[Save me,] O God, by thy name' [and] 'Blessed are the undefiled', as far as 'Set [before me] for a law', and the rest in the usual way. After Prime on these three days they shall chant the entire psalter together in choir, and they shall perform the litanies prostrate, and the rest of the hours they shall chant according to the secular Office. On this day [scil. Maundy Thursday] they are to sing all the hours together and out loud, and the preces individually and silently; but on Good Friday and [Holy] Saturday [they shall recite all the hours] individually and silently, except Nocturns. On Good Friday they should also go barefoot until the cross is venerated.

35 After Chapter on Maundy Thursday the brothers shall remove their shoes, and the priests shall wash the altars while the rest wash the church floor; and on that day no mass is to be celebrated on any altar until it has been washed. In this act, Amalarius says, we understand that washing which Christ carried out among his disciples, by which we also understand the forgiveness which every man ought to extend to his brother.

36 Consuetudo: Sexta peracta celebretur missa pauperibus ante ad hoc collectis,¹⁸⁹ secundum numerum quem abbas praeuiderit. Et lauent pedes uirorum tantum¹⁹⁰ et extergant atque osculentur et, data aqua manibus illorum, dentur eis etiam cibaria et quicquid abbas praeuiderit.

37 Amalarius: Ipso namque die et duobus sequentibus diebus, hora nona, ad ostium ecclesie nouus ignis de lapide excutiendus est et in ecclesiam portandus, quia in illa massab fragili quae ducta est ex primo homine extinctus est commemoratus ignis. Quapropter {p. 2521 conuenit ut de lapide qui excisus est 'de monte sine manibus' idem ignis requiratur.¹⁹¹

Consuetudo dicit ut, si ita placuerit, decantata nona habeatur imago serpentis preparata, hastae adfixa, candelam habens in ore suo, quae accensa a praedicto igne deportetur cum hasta illis tribus diebus in ecclesiam, et accendantur luminaria ex ea.¹⁹²

38 Ipsa die non dicatur 'Dominus uobiscum' ad missam,' ⁹³ nisi ab episcopo ubi crisma conficitur. Ipse etiam, decantato ter 'Agnus Dei', pacis osculum presbiteris solummodo licenter dat. Ipso etiam die post celebrationem missae et uespertinalis sinaxis altaria exspoliamus,^a ut stent denudata usque in sabbatum, quia Dominus noster exspoliatusb est uestimentis suis.'⁹⁴ Nuda sint altaria eo tempore in quibus solemus Deo oblationes offerre, quoniam exspoliatus est ille per quem acceptabilis fit Den oblatio nostra. ¹⁹⁵

39 In Cena Domini crisma ab episcopo sacrandum est,¹⁹⁶ quia eo die sacramenta ecclesiae Dominus discipulis contradidit.¹⁹⁷ Tria uascula inpleantur oleo in secretario, et uno eorum, quod honestius uidetur ceteris esse, debet episcopus balsamum miscere. Precipitur enim ut primum uas benedicatur ante communionem, quod est pro medicamento afflictorum et infirmorum mem- brorum, quia hoc uas significat antiquos patres, qui habebant magnam gratiam curationum.'^{9s} Tunc, una ampulla benedicta, communicet episcopus solus et, accepto sacrificio, benedicat duas reliquas ampullas, quia Christus [p. 2531 solus suum corpus obtulit Deo Patti et calicem Passionis bibit,¹⁹⁹ et postea peracta sunt sacramenta crismatis et olei sui.²⁰⁰ Duo uero uascula benedicantur post communicationem episcopi, quorum unum, in quo balsamum mixtum est, Christum intelligimus significari,' in quo 'misericordia et ueritas sibi obuiauuerunt'²⁰¹ in secundo corpus Christi demonstrari quod est in nouo testamento, hoc est ecclesia sub gratia Christi. Due enim ampulle tacite consecrantur, id est primab et tertia.` Mediad uero, in

qua balsamum est mixtum, excelsa uoce benedicatur, quoniam Christum predicamus, sicut dicit Paulus: 'Non nosmetipsose predicamus, sed Iesum Christum.'²⁰² Postquam saluent ipsa uascula sancta, communicet omnis populus. Et seruent de ipso Sacramento oblationes tantum usque in crastinum, quia non licet eo die, quo Dominus passus est, sanctificare sacrificium.²⁰³

36 The customary: After Sext one shall celebrate the mass for the poor, who have been assembled beforehand for this purpose in numbers determined by the abbot. {The monks} shall wash and dry and kiss the feet of the men only, and, after pouring water over their hands, they [scil. the poor] shall also be given food and whatever [else] the abbot deems appropriate.

37 Amalarius: At the ninth hour on this day and the two following, at the doorway of the church a new fire is to be struck from a rock and [then] carried inside, because the aforesaid fire was extinguished in the fragile substance that descended from the first man. It is therefore fitting that the same fire [now] be sought from a stone 'cut without hands out of a mountain'.

The customary says that, if it be pleasing, after None they shall have ready the figure of a serpent attached to [the end of] a shaft; in its mouth is a candle which, when lit from the aforesaid fire on these three days, shall be carried atop the shaft into the church, and from it {other} candles shall be lit.

38 On that same day 'The Lord be with you' is not to be said at mass, except by the bishop when the chrism is blessed. He alone also has license to give the kiss of peace to the priests, once 'Lamb of God' has been sung three times. Also on that day after the celebration of mass and the service of Vespers, we should strip the altars so that they stand bare until Saturday, because our Lord was stripped of his garments. The altars on which we are wont to make our offerings to God should be bare at that time, because he was stripped, through whom our offering is made acceptable to God.

39 On Maundy Thursday chrism is to be blessed by the bishop, because on that day the Lord passed down to his disciples the sacraments of the church. In the sacristy three small vessels should be filled with oil, and the bishop should mix balsam into the one that appears worthier of reverence than the others. It is stipulated that the first vessel, which is for the remedy of sick and afflicted members, should be blessed before communion, because this vessel signifies the ancient fathers, who possessed the great gift of healing powers. Then,

when one ampoule has been blessed, the bishop alone shall communicate and, after receiving the sacrifice, bless the two remaining ampoules, because Christ alone offered his body to God the Father and drank the cup of his Passion, and afterwards the sacraments of his chrism and oil were established. Two vessels, moreover, should be blessed after the bishop's communion, one of which - that in which the balsam was mixed - we understand to represent Christ, in whom 'mercy and truth have met each other'; in the second is signified the body of Christ that exists under the new dispensation, that is, the church under the grace of Christ. Two of the vessels are consecrated in silence, that is, the first and the third; but the middle one, in which balsam was mixed, should be blessed aloud, because it is Christ we are proclaiming, as Paul says: 'We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ.' After they reverence these holy vessels, the entire people shall communicate. And from that same eucharist they [scil. the ministers] shall preserve offerings only until the next day, because it is not permitted to consecrate the sacrament on the day the Lord suffered.

In Cena Domini et in Parascheue et in sabbato non pergimus ad pacem propter osculum fide pacis, quo Judas tradidit Christum.²⁰⁴

40 Consuetudo: Peracta misse celebratione omnes ad mixtum²⁰⁵ pergant. Post mixtum quos uoluerit abbas secum ex fratribus assumens suum peragat mandatum,²⁰⁶ quo peracto uesperam celebrant.

41 Deinde ad refectionem pergant²⁰⁷ et tempore congruo agatur mandatum fratrum <ab>a abbate ac ministris. Tunc, lotis fratribus, exhibeant priores eandem humilitatem abbati.

42 Factoque signo collationis²⁰⁸ sit diaconus ebdomadarius indutus dalma- tica et ceteri ministri [p. 254] altaris albis induti. Veniat tunc diaconus portans textum euuangelii, praecedentibus ministris cum cereis et turibulo, et legat euuangelium secundum Iohannemb 'Ante diem festum'²⁰⁹ usquequo intrent more solito in refectory. Legat tunc diaconus stans cum ministris sequentia euuangelii, inposito libro super ambonem, et abbas propinet fratribus caritatem,²¹⁰ deosculans singulorum manus. Et finita lectione praecedant ministri ut se exuant sintque cum reliquis ad completorium.

43 Amalarius: Feria sexta esta Parasceue, hoc est praeparatio Iudeorum, quia eo die preparabant Iudei sibi necessaria quae in sabbato habere debuissent, quando non licuit eis operari.²¹¹ Ipso namque die, hora nona, sedente abbate in sede sua preparatob ad officium diei, legatur lectio Oseae prophetae 'In tribulatione sua

mane"212 quam sequitur tractus 'Domine audiui' et collecta 'Deus a quo et Iudas'.2 13 Deinde legatur lectio libri Exodi 'Dixit Dominus ad Moysen et Aaron', in qua agnus, qui die dominica Hierusalem ad immolandum intrauit, immolatur.214 Hanc lectionem sequitur tractus 'Eripe me Domine'215 et, finito tractu, Passio Domini; nam tractus a 'trahendo' dicitur, et Dominus suspensus in truce non continuo obiit, sed trahebat in truce tempos mortis suae usque ad horam` quam dispositam habebat emittendi spiritum. Tractus sit ante euuangelium; in euuangelio 'emisit spiritum'.216 [p. 255} In eadem Passione, quando legitur 'Partiti sunt uestimenta mea' et reliqua, duo diaconi trahant uestem quae iacet sub euuangelio in modum furantis, quia milites crucifixo Christo uestimenta eius diuiserunt sibi sortem mittentes.217

On Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday we do not exchange the peace, on account of the kiss of false peace by which Judas betrayed Christ.

40 The customary: After the celebration of mass all shall proceed to [take] the rnixtun. After the mixture, the abbot shall carry out his own maundy, taking with him from among the brothers those whom he wishes. After this they shall [all] celebrate Vespers.

41 Then they shall proceed to take their meal, and at the proper time the brothers' maundy shall be carried out by the abbot and his ministers. Then, when the brothers have been washed, the foremost among them shall offer the same act of humble service to the abbot.

42 At the signal for collatio the hebdomadary deacon shall be vested in a dalmatic, and the other ministers of the altar be vested in albs. Then the deacon, preceded by the [other] ministers with candles and a thurible, shall come hearing the gospel book, and he shall read, [from] the gospel according to John, 'Before the festival day' until they enter the refectory in the usual manner. Then the deacon, standing with the ministers, shall place the book on the ambo and read the gospel sequence, and the abbot shall serve the caritas to the brothers, kissing the hands of each one [as he goes]. At the end of the reading, the ministers shall go out first in order to remove their vestments and so join the rest for Compline.

43 Amalarius: Friday is the Paravicerie (that is 'preparation') of the Jews, because on that day the Jews used to prepare for themselves those necessities that they required for the Sabbath, when they were not permitted to work. Now on this same day, at the ninth hour, when the abbot has taken his seat in readiness for the liturgy of the

day, the lesson shall be read from the prophet Hosea, 'In their affliction [they will rise] early'. The tract 'O Lord, I have heard' follows, and the collect 'O God, from whom Judas [received the punishment of his guilt]'. Then the lesson shall be read from the book of Exodus, 'The Lord said to Moses and Aaron', in which the lamb is sacrificed which, on [the previous] Sunday, entered Jerusalem in order to be sacrificed. The tract 'Deliver me, O Lord' follows this reading and, after the tract, [the reading of] the Lord's Passion. For the tract takes its name from trahendo ['drawing'], and the Lord did not die immediately when hung on the cross, but rather 'drew out' the time of his dying on the cross until the hour he had appointed for the yielding up of his spirit. The tract shall be before the gospel, [for] in the gospel he 'gave up the ghost'. In the same Passion [reading], at the words 'They have parted my vestments', etc., two deacons shall, in the manner of thieves, pull away the cloth lying beneath the gospel book, because after crucifying Christ the soldiers divided his vestments among themselves by casting lots.

Finita¹ Passione incipit abbas orationes sollempnes quae sequuntur, quoniam et eadem die saluator noster pro tota ecclesia orauit in cruce.²¹⁸ Omnes orationes cum genuflexione fiant excepta quando oramus pro perfidis Iudeis. Illi enim inridentes Christum genu flexoe ante eum inludabant, dicentes 'Aue rex Iudeorum', et nos fugimus eorum consensum qui Dominum inrident, non flectentes genua pro eis orando.²¹⁹ Deinde, finitis orationibus sollempnibus, deportetur crux ante altare a cantoribus cantantibus uersus et cetera, ut omnes earn per ordinem salutent.²²"

44 His finitis ponat diaconus corporate super altare cum corpore Christi quod pridie remansit et calicem cum mixto uino non consecrato.²²¹ Corpus Christi solummodo seruatur a Cena Domini in Parasceue, quia credimus eum uere mortuum esse corpore; et item in Parasceue uinum cum aqua in calice mittitur, quia credimus ueram resurrectionem eius, ut habeamus sacramenta uiuentis hominis in nobis per corpus et sanguinem eius.²²² Dicit tune abbas stans ad altare 'Oremus: Preceptis salutaribus' et 'Pater noster' sonora uoce, et secrete 'Libera nos, quaesumus Domine, ab omnibus malis' finetenus, et alta uoce 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum'. [p. 256} Mittat tune silens de corpore Christi in calicem et communicet ipse et omnes, quia in his tribus testis diebus commu- nicare oportet. ²²¹

45 His expletis canant singuli uespertinalem sinaxim more canonico,²²⁴ scilicet 'Confitebor tibi Domine', 'Domine probasti me', 'Eripe me Domine', 'Domine clamaui', 'Voce mea' et cetera.²²⁵ Tunc demum calceant se et refectorium petant. His uero tribus diebus in

refectorio et in capitulo omnia more solito agantur.

46 Sabbato Sancto, hora nona decantata, sanctificet diaconus primitus cereum honorifice, et accendatur nouo igne benedicto;726 qui cereus Christi humanitatem praefigurat, qui lux mundi ueraciter cognoscitur esse.227 Sequantur tunc lectiones secundum constitutionem sancti Gregorii`` papae228 cum tractibus et collectis, deinde septene letaniae229 canantur. Postea descendat sacerdos siue abbas cum ministris ad fontem benedicendum, canendo quinas letanias.

At the conclusion of the Passion, the abbot begins the orationer solemn that follow, because on that same day our Saviour also prayed from the cross for the whole church. All the orationer should be performed with genuflexions, except for the one wherein we pray for the treacherous Jews. For they derided and mocked Christ by going down on bended knee before him, saying `Hail, king of the Jews.' By not kneeling when we pray for them, we flee the fellowship of those who mock the Lord. Then, when the orationer solennres have ended, a cross shall be carried down before the altar by cantors as they chant the verses and the rest, so that all may venerate it {soil. the cross} in due turn.

44 When these things are completed, the deacon shall place a corporal upon the altar, together with the Body of Christ left over from the previous day and a chalice of unconsecrated wine mixed [with water]. Because we believe that he did truly die in body, only the Body of Christ is reserved from Maundy Thursday to Good Friday; and again, on Good Friday, because we believe that his resurrection was genuine, wine mixed with water is put in the chalice, in order that by [receiving] his Body and Blood we might have [in us] the sacraments of a living person. Then, standing at the altar, the abbot shall say in an audible voice 'Let us pray: [Instructed] by thy saving precepts' and Our Father', and, inaudibly, 'Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils' to [that prayer's] end; then aloud, 'World without end'. Then, without speaking, he shall place a portion of Christ's Body in the chalice. He himself shall receive communion, then shall all, because it is fitting to communicate during these three solemn days.

45 When these things have been done, they shall individually sing the service of Vespers according to the secular Office, namely, 'I will praise thee, O Lord', 'Lord, thou hast proved me', 'Deliver me, O Lord', 'I have cried [to thee,] O Lord', '[I cried to the Lord] with my voice' and so forth. Then at last they shall put on their shoes and proceed to the refectory. In these three days everything in the refectory and in

Chapter is to be done in the usual way.

46 On Holy Saturday, after None has been sung, the deacon shall first reverently bless the [Paschal] candle, and it shall be lit from the new fire which has been blessed. The candle stands for the humanity of Christ, who is truly acknowledged to be the light of the world. Then shall follow the readings, with tracts and collects, according to the arrangement of holy Pope Gregory, then a sevenfold litany shall be sung. Afterwards, accompanied by the singing of a fivefold litany, the priest or abbot shall go down with his ministers to bless the font.

Infantes, quando baptizantur, in cerebro unguendi sunt a presbitero, quia episcopus debet in fronte ungere ubi laminam auream pontifex ferebat.²³⁰ Cereus qui infanti baptizato datur in manum coadunatur lampadibus sapientium uirginum.²³¹

Finita benedictione fontis redeant ad altare cum letania terna et, antequam incipiatur 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', canatur alta uoce a magistro stole sine cantore 'Accendite' ter,²³² et inluminentur omnia luminaria et pulsantur omnia signa [p. 2571 dum canitur 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'. Sequitur collecta, epistola, 'Alleluia: Confitemini', tractus 'Laudate', euuangelium.²²³³ In ipsa missa non portantur cerei ante euuangelium sed thimiama (siue thus) tantum, ad imitationem mulierum quae aromata detulerunt.²ⁱ⁴ In ipso die non cantatur offertorium nec 'Agnus Dei' nec communio,²³⁵ sed interim dum communi- cantur canant 'Alleluia' sonoriter et psalmum 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes';²³⁶ dehinc antiphona 'Vespere autem sabbati', 'Magnificat'. Sic sacerdos missam ac uespertinalem sinaxim una compleat oratione.²³⁷ Eodem uespere ad mandatum aqua manibus tantum detur, et cantant completorium more canonicorum.²³⁸

47 Ad nocturnas in dominica sancte Pascae more canonicorum dicatur primitus 'Domine labia mea aperies' semel, 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende'²³⁹ cum 'Gloria'. Tunc cantor incipiat inuitatorium; posthinc tres antiphone cum tribus psalmis, secundum auctoritatem beati Gregorii papae,²⁴⁰ deinde uersus et dominica oratio cum prece. Sequantur tres lectiones de tractu euuangelii cum tribus responsoriis; et, finita 'Gloria', incipiat prior hymnum²⁴¹ 'Te Deum laudamus', post cuius finem dicat sacerdos uersum uerbotenus 'Surrexit Dominus',²⁴² et sic incipiat matutinas dicens 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende'. Tunc cantor ilico inchoet antiphonam cum psalmo 'Dominus regnauit', quia 'Deus misereatur nostri' debet sequi [p. 2581 'Deus Deus meus' more canonicorum.²⁴³ Finitis quinque psalmis cum antiphonis, dicat sacerdos capitolum et puer uersum. Tunc antiphona in euuangelio,

qua finita dicatur statim collecta. Nam his septem diebus non canimus de omnibus sanctis nec ymnos.244

48 Ad primam dicantur cum 'Alleluia' 'Deus in nomine too', 'Confitemini', 'Beati immaculati', 'Retribue', 'Quicumque uult', uersus 'Haec dies', 'Kyrrie- leison', dominica oratio, 'Viuet anima mea', 'Erraui', et symbolum cum precibus et collecta.2245 Ad tertiam 'Legem pone', 'Memor esto', Bonitatem'2't6 cum 'Alleluia' canantur; tunc gradalem 'Haec dies' canant sine capitulo et sine uersu,247 deinde collectam. Ad sextam eodem ordine 'Defecit', 'Quomodo dilexi', 'Iniquos'.2"s Ad nonam simili modo 'Mirabilia', 'Clamaui', 'Principes'.24

When infants are baptized they should be anointed on the top of the head by the priest, because the bishop should anoint on the forehead, where the high priest used to wear a plate of gold. The candle that is placed in the hand of the baptized infant is likened to the lamps of the wise virgins.

After the blessing of the font they shall return to the altar while a threefold litany [is sung], and, before 'Glory to God in the highest' is begun, 'Acienclite' ['set ablaze!'] shall be sung three times by the choir master or cantor, and all the lights shall be set ablaze, and all the bells shall be set ringing while 'Glory to God in the highest' is sung. [Then] follow the collect, epistle, 'Alleluia' [with its verse] 'Give praise [to the Lord]', the tract 'O praise [the Lord]' [and] the gospel. In the mass itself candles are not carried before the gospel, but only thymianla, or incense, in imitation of the women who brought perfumes [to Jesus's tomb]. On this same day the offertory, 'Lamb of God' and communion [chant] are not sung; rather they shall sing in full voice 'Alleluia' and the psalm 'O praise the Lord, all ye nations'. Then [shall follow] the antiphon 'And in the evening of the Sabbath' [and the canticle] '[My soul] doth magnify [the Lord]', and so the priest shall conclude both mass and Vespers with a single collect. At the maundy on this same evening, water shall be poured over the hands only, and [the monks] shall sing Compline according to the secular Office.

47 At Nocturns of Easter Sunday, 'O Lord, thou wilt open my lips' shall be said first and one time only, [then] 'O God, come to my assistance' with the 'Glory [be to the Father]', [all] as in the secular Office. Then the cantor shall begin the invitatory, after which [follow] three antiphons with three psalms as ordained by blessed Pope Gregory, then the versicle, Lord's Prayer and collect. [Then] follow three readings from homilies on the gospel with three

responsories, [at the end of which,] when the 'Glory [be to the Father]' is finished, the prior shall begin the hymn 'We praise thee, O God'. After that is finished, the priest shall say the versicle 'The Lord is risen' straight through and so begin Lauds by saying 'O God, come to my assistance'. Then the cantor shall immediately begin the antiphon with the psalm 'The Lord hath reigned', because 'May God have mercy on us' should follow 'O God, my God' as in the secular Office. After the five psalms and their antiphons the priest shall say the capitulum and a boy the versicle, then the antiphon [for the canticle] 'Blessed [be the Lord God of Israel]' [is sung]. After [the final repetition of] that antiphon, the collect is to be said immediately following. In these seven days we do not sing hymns or the Offices of All Saints.

48 At Prime '[Save me, O God,] by thy name', 'Give praise, 'Blessed are the undefiled', 'Give bountifully' [and] 'Whosoever wishes [to be saved]' are to be said with 'Alleluia'; [then] the versicle 'This is the day', the 'Kyrie eleison', Lord's Prayer, [hrecce] 'My soul shall live' [and] 'I have gone astray', and the Creed, preces and collect. At Terce 'Set [before me] for a law', 'Be thou mindful' [and] '[Thou hast done] well' are to be sung with 'Alleluia'; [the monks] shall then sing the gradual 'This is the day' without the capitulum and versicle, then the collect. At Sext, by the same arrangement, '[My soul] hath fainted', 'O how [have I loved thy law]' [and] '[I have hated] the unjust'. At None, in similar fashion, '[Thy testimonies are] wonderful', 'I cried [with my whole heart]', 'Princes [have persecuted me]'

Ad uesperam 'Dixit Dominus', 'Confitebor', 'Beatus uir'²⁵⁰ cum antiphonis sine capitulo, gradalis 'Haec dies' sine uersu, 'Alleluia' cum uersu et sequentia.²⁵¹ Postea inchoetur antiphona in euuangelio et collecta, dehinc eant ad fontem²⁵² cum psalmo 'Laudate pueri Dominum' et antiphona, quam sequatur collecta. Iterum reuertentur ad chorum canendo psalmum 'In exitu Israel' cum antiphona et collecta.²⁵³

Ad completorium psalmus 'Cum inuocarem', 'In te Domine speraui', 'Qui habitat', 'Ecce nunc',²⁵⁴ capitulum, uersus, 'Nunc dimittis' cum antiphona, 'Kyrie eleison', dominica oratio, uersus 'In pace in idipsum', symbolum, preces cum collecta et benedictione.²⁵⁵

Nam iste ordo²⁵⁶ sex reliquis diebus tenendus est, [p. 259] hoc excepto, quod non canimus 'Confitemini Domino' ad primam nisi dominica die, nec antiphonal ad nocturnas sedb cum 'Alleluia'.

49 Vespera uero octauarum Pasce ordo iam regularis pleniter

inchoetur.257 De omnibus sanctis una antiphona canatur usque in octauas Pentecosten.258 Et omnes sinaxes cum 'Alleluia' psallantur, et ad missam pro gradale una 'Alleluia' canatur ferialibus diebus, festiuis ueroa diebus due 'Alleluia' canende sunt usque praedictum tempus.259 His etiam diebus genuflexionem non facimus nec letanias canimus260 more ecclesiastico.

50 In octauis sanctae Pascae ad uesperam canimus hymnum 'Ad cenam Agni' prouidi', ad nocturnam 'Iesu nostra redemptio', ad matutinum 'Aurora lucis rutilat'161 usque Ascensionem Domini. Tunc canimus ad uesperam 'Hymnum canamus gloriae', ad nocturnam 'Optatus uotis omnium', ad matutinas 'Aeterne rex altissime' 262 usque Pentecosten. Tunc canimus ad uesperam 'Iam Christus astra ascenderat', ad nocturnam 'Veni creator Spiritus', ad matutinum 'Beata nobis gaudia'.263

At Vespers 'The Lord said', 'I will praise [thee]' [and] 'Blessed is the man' with antiphons but no capitulum, [then] the gradual 'This is the day' with no verse, [then] 'Alleluia' with its verse and the sequence hymn. After that, the antiphon [of the canticle] '[My soul] doth magnify [the Lord]' shall begin, and [after the final repetition of that antiphon,] the collect. Then they shall proceed to the font during the [chanting of the] psalm 'Praise the Lord, ye children' and its antiphon, which is to be followed by a collect. Likewise they shall return to the choir singing the psalm 'When Israel went out [of Egypt]' with its antiphon and a collect.

At Compline the psalm 'When I called [upon him]', 'In thee, O Lord, have I hoped', 'He that dwelleth [in the aid of the Most High]' [and] 'Behold now [bless ye the Lord]', [then] the capitulum and versicle, the [canticle] 'Now thou hast dismissed [thy servant]' with its antiphon, the 'Kyrie eleison', the Lord's Prayer, the versicle 'In peace in the selfsame', the Creed [and] preccv with it collect and its blessing.

This order is to be kept on the six remaining [lays [of Easter week], with the exception that we sing 'Give praise to the Lord' at Prime on Sunday only, and we do not sing antiphons at Nocturns, but 'Alleluia'.

49 But at Vespers of the Octave of Easter, the regular order [of the Office] shall begin in full. In the [Offices] of All Saints, a single antiphon shall be sung until the Octave of Pentecost. All the liturgical hours shall be chanted with 'Alleluia', and at mass on ferias a single 'Alleluia' shall be sung in place of the gradual; but on feast days, up until the aforementioned time [scilicet. the Octave of Pentecost], two 'Alleluias' are to be sung. Also, in conformity with church custom, we

do not genuflect or sing the litanies during these days.

50 On the Octave of Easter at Vespers we sing the hymn 'Ad cenam Agni prouidi', at Nocturns 'Iesu nostra redemptio' [and] at Lauds 'Aurora lucis rutilat', until [the feast of] the Ascension. Then we sing at Vespers 'I lymnum canamus gloriae', at Nocturns 'Optatus uotis omnium' [and] at Lauds 'Aeterne rex altissime', until Pentecost. Then we sing at Vespers 'Iam Christus astra ascenderat', at Nocturns 'Veni creator Spiritus' [and] at Lauds 'Beata nohis gaud a'.

51 In uigilia Pentecosten²⁶⁴ in primordio legatur prima lectio 'Temptauit Deus Abraham', collecta 'Deus qui <in>' Abrahe' et cetera sicut in missali habentur,²⁶⁵ et septenas et quinas et ternas letanias sicut in uigilia Pascae canimus.²⁶⁶ Nam uesperam eo die congruo tempore psallimus cum responsorio et ymno more solito.²⁶⁷

52 Illa dominica nocte tribus psalmis totidemque lectionibus cum responsoriis agitur nocturna laus, [p. 260) ut in antiphonarioa titulatur.²⁶⁸ Ceteris uero horis diei et ebdomade sequentis regularis ordo teneatur.²⁶⁹ Et illa ebdomada canatur ad missam 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', exceptis ieiuniorum diebus.²⁷⁰

53 In octauis Pentecosten non repetatur officium 'Spiritus Domini', eo quod septema diebus celebremus tantummodo aduentum Spiritus sancti,²⁷¹ sed agatur illa ebdomada de sancta Trinitate.²⁷²

54 In tota estate²⁷³ usque Kalendas Nouembris dominicali sabbato canitur ymnus 'Deus creator omnium', ad nocturnas 'Nocte surgentes', ad matutinas 'Ecce iam noctis', ad uesperam 'Lucis creator', ad completorium omnibus noctibus 'Te lucis ante terminum'.²⁷⁴ Ferialibus uero diebus feriales hymnos canant semper^a et festiuis congruos ipsi festiuitati, et in toto anno tria cantica conuenientia ipsi tempori uel sollempnitati, sicut in hymnario habentur.²⁷⁵

55 Si Natiuitas sancti Iohannis baptiste in dominica die euenerit, omnes lectiones et omnia responsoria de ipso Iohanne uolumus tenere.²⁷⁶ Similiter de Adsumptione et Natiuitate sanctae Mariae²⁷⁷ et festiuitate sancti Michaelis: ^b²⁷⁸ si dominica die occurrerint pleniter de illis tenere uolumus. Item in festiuitate omnium sanctorum²⁷⁹ et omnium apostolorum idipsum facimus, nisi quae in Aduentu Domini aut a Septuagesima usque Pasca occurrerint. In aliis uero festiuitatibus quas populus non celebrat, si plenam habent hystoriam, si dominicis diebus aduenerint, primam [p. 261) sedem et tertiam de illis recitemus et secundam de dominica.²²⁸⁰

56 Ferialibus namque diebus more solito ante missam letanie canende sunt,²⁸¹ et qui epistoiā legit et qui patenam portat ieiuni id faciant.²⁸²

57 Regula sancta dicit teneri interuallum estiuus noctibus,²⁸³ sed nos in Bryttannia degentes, breuiores noctes habentes estate Beneuentanis,²⁸⁴ dicimus sufficere nobis pro interuallo quattuor psalmos quos canimus pro rege, duos post nocturnam et duos post matutinales laudes, et insuper matutinales laudes quas de omnibus sanctis canimus.²⁸⁵

51 At the beginning of the Vigil of Pentecost, the first lesson 'God tempted Abraham' is to be read, [followed by] the collect 'O God, who in [the deed] of thy [servant] Abraham' and so forth, as found in the sacramentary, and we sing sevenfold, fivefold and threefold litanies, just as at the Easter Vigil. But on this day, at the proper time, we chant Vespers wit.¹ the responsory and hymn in the usual way.

52 During the night before [Pentecost; Sunday, the Office of Nocturns is said with three psalms and the same number of readings and responsories, as in the antiphoner. But at the rest of the hours of the day and in the following week the regular order shall be observed. During that week, 'Glory to God in the highest' shall be sung at mass, except on the days of fasting.

53 On the Octave of Pentecost, the liturgy [beginning] 'The Spirit of the Lord' shall not be repeated, because we should celebrate the coming of the Holy Spirit for seven days only. On that [Sunday and in the following] week, rather, [the liturgy] of the Holy Trinity shall be celebrated.

54 In the entire summer period, until the Kalends of November, the hymn 'Deus creator omnium' is sung [at Vespers] on Saturday evening, at Nocturns 'Nocte surgentes', at Lauds 'Ecce iam noctis', at Vespers 'Lucis creator' and every night at Compline 'Te lucis ante terminum'. But on ferias they shall always sing ferial hymns, and on feast days [hymns] proper to the feast, as well as three canticles proper to the season or solemnity throughout the entire year, as in the hymnal.

55 If the Nativity of St John the Baptist should fall on a Sunday, we desire to retain all the readings and all the responsories about John himself. The same [rule applies] for [the feasts of] the Assumption and Nativity of St Mary and the feast of St Michael: should [any of these] occur on a Sunday, we desire to retain [their liturgies] in full.

Again, we do the same for the feast of All Saints and [the feasts] of all the apostles, except for those which occur in Advent or [in the period] from Septuagesima to Easter. But as for other feasts not observed by the laity, if they fall on Sunday and have a full history [of their own], let us read about them in the first and third position, and about the Sunday in the second.

56 On ferias litanies are to be sung before mass in the usual way, and he who reads the epistle and he who carries the paten are to fast.

57 The holy Rule says that, on summer nights, an interval is to be observed [between Nocturns and Lauds], but we who live in Britain, having shorter nights in the summer than they do in Benevento, say that the four psalms we sing for the king - two after Nocturns and two after Lauds - together with Lauds of All Saints are for us a sufficient substitute for the [prescribed] interval.

58 Consuetudo docet debere sonari primum signum ad nocturnam semper et ad uesperam tamdiu usquequo scola ingreditur in ecclesiam ad orationem.²⁸⁶ Mos etiam apud nos inoleuit omnibus festiuis diebus, in quibus ab opere cessatur, pulsate omnia signa ad nocturnas, ante missam, ante uesperam.²⁸⁷

59 Si deficiant nobis officia aestate,²⁸⁸ nos repetamus iterum decantata, quantum nobis sufficit, sed non canimus `Dicit Dominus: Ego cogito cogitationes pacis' nisi una ebdomada ante Aduentum Domini.`^{s9}

60 Consuetudo quoque docet auditorium habendum in monasterio,²⁹⁰ ut in eo' liceat loqui pro necessitate aliqua quando fratres uacant lectionibus seu post uesperam.

61 Quattuor Temporibus ieiuniorum²⁹¹ dicatur ad missam `Flectamus genua',²⁹² et eadem abstinencia quae in Quadragesima fit²⁹³ custodiatur.

62 Mandatum omni sabbato faciendum fratribus regula sancta satis monet,²⁹⁴ [p. 262] sed insuper consuetudo docet omni die trium pauperum ex his, qui in monasterio iugiter pascuntur,²⁹⁵ fratres uicissim debere lauare pedes et aquam" manibus infundere loco apto, ac uictualia, quibus fratres utuntur, ipsis praebere. Cui obedientiae adsit ipse abbas quotienscumque ei uacauerit, nam de susceptione hospitem regula docet.²⁹⁶

63 Monet etiam consuetudo ut nullus laicorum habeat

dominium²⁹⁷ super monasterium ubi regula sancta tenetur, nisi rex solus ad munimen loci, non ad tirannidem.²⁹⁸

64 Nec quispiam secularium in refectorio manducet aut bibat, excepto rege et filiis eius,²⁹⁹ aut abbas seu fratres extra refectorium manducet uel bibant, nisi causa infirmitatis, sine secularia conuiuia temerario ausu adire presumant.³⁰⁰

65 Cum quislibet frater infirmatur,³⁰¹ si senserit suam creuisse inbecillitatem, indicetur hoc abbati³⁰² et fiat missa matutinalis pro eo. Et eant ministri illius missae induti albis cum eucharistia et cereis et turibulo cum omni congregatione ad uisitandum infirmum,³⁰³ canentes psalmos paenitentiales, consequente letania³⁰⁴ et orationibus ac unctione olei (prima tantum die). Tunc demum communicetur. Quod si infirmitas leuigata fuerit, intermittatur et hoc; sin alias, prosequatur uisitatio usque ad exitum.

58 The customary teaches that the first bell for Nocturns and for Vespers always ought to be rung for as long as it takes the schola to enter the church to pray. The custom has also grown up among us of ringing all the bells at Nocturns, before mass and before Vespers on all feast days when no work is done.

59 Should we run out of liturgies in the summer period, we are to repeat a sufficient number of those that have already been sung; but we do not sing [the mass beginning] The Lord saith: I think thoughts of peace' except in the week before Advent.

60 The customary also teaches that there is to be an auditorium in the monastery, so that one may, for some pressing need, converse in that place after Vespers or when the brothers have retired to their reading.

61 On Ember Days, 'Let us kneel' shall be said at mass, and the same abstinence shall be observed as during Lent.

62 The holy Rule plainly admonishes that the brothers are to carry out the maundy every Saturday, but in addition to this the customary teaches that every day, in a place suited to this purpose, the brothers should take turns washing the feet and pouring water over the hands of three of the paupers who are regularly fed in the monastery, and that they should provide them with the same food that the brothers themselves enjoy. Even the abbot shall take part in this work of service as often as he has leisure to do so, for the Rule provides instruction concerning the treatment of guests.

63 The customary also warns that no layman shall have dominion over [any] monastery where the holy Rule is observed, save the king alone - and even lie for the protection of the place, not the exercise of tyranny over it.

64 Nor shall any person of secular estate eat or drink in the refectory, except for the king and his sons. Nor shall the abbot or brothers eat or drink outside the refectory (except for reason of illness) or with reckless audacity presume to attend feasts held by secular persons.

65 When any of the brothers becomes ill, if he feels that his infirmity has increased, this shall be made known to the abbot, and the maturinal mass shall be offered for him. The ministers of that mass, vested in albs and attended by the whole community, shall proceed with the eucharist, candles and a thurible to visit the sick man, singing [the seven] penitential psalms, followed by a litany, prayers and an anointing [of the sick] with oil (this anointing is to be clone on the first day only). Then, finally, [the sick man] shall be given communion. Should his sickness abate, this [visitation] shall be suspended too; otherwise it shall be carried out [daily] until his death.

66 *Eo igitur in extremis agente pulsetur tabula conueniantque omnes ad tuendum exitum eius, et initient commendationem anime 'Subuenite [p. 2631 sancti Dei]'305 iuxta ordinem commendationis. a Exempto autem homine lauetur corpus a quibus iussum fuerit. Lotum induitur mundis uestimentis - id est interula, cuculla, caligis, calceis - cuiuscumque sit ordinis. Sib sacerdos fuerit, circumdatur ei stola super cucullam, si ita ratio dictauerit.;06 Inde fertur in ecclesiam, psallentibus cunctis motisque omnibus signis. Et si eodem die non possit sepeliri ante refectionem fratrum, uacent fratres psalmodie pernoctantes circa corpus donee, mane facto, missam celebrent pro anima eius;07 offerentibus cunctis, et sic cadauer terre commendetur.*

67 *Reuertentes uero a sepulture fratres incipiant septem psalmos, quos prostrati in choro finiant cum dominica oratione et collecta.30a Dehinc per septem continuos dies, omnibus horis finitis, unum ex supradictis prostrati canant psalmum,309 sequente oratione, et uigilia pleniter agatur310 pro eo ac missa matutinalis, omnibus offerentibus. Exinde usque ad tricessimum diem agatur uigilia pro eo cum tribus lectionibus et missa matutinalis, offerente uno choro. Sacerdotuma quoque unusquisque triginta missas pro anima defuncti fratris deuote celebret, et alii fratres in psalmodiis, in quantum*

ualent, illam adiuuent.³¹¹ Tricessimo uero die item pleniter agant uigiliam et missam primam, omnibus offerentibus pro eo. Et nomen eius notetur in anniuersariis.³¹²

68 Mittatur et epistola ad uicina quaeque monasteria eiusdem depositionis denuntiatura diem, [p. 264] ut iste sit sensus: 'Dominus (ille) abbas monasterii (illius)³¹³ cunctis sanctae ecclesiae fidelibus, tam prelatis quam et subditis. Cum cunctos maneat sors inreuocabilis hore, notum uobis esse cupimus de quodam fratre nostro (N.), quem Dominus de ergastulo huius saeculi uocare dignatus est die (illo), pro quo, obsecramus obnixe, ut sitis strennui interuentores ad Dominum sentiatque in interuentione quibus fuerat unitus in ordinis communionem.'

69 Quod si ex alio monasterio noto³¹⁴ quis frater nuntiatur defunctus, pulsetur tabula et, sonante campana, quindecim graduum psalmos;¹⁵ modulentur pro anima eius. Et prima die, septima, tricessima,³¹⁶ pleniter agatur pro eo, reliquis uero sub breuitate. Si autem ex ignoto monasterio quis frater defunctus nuntietur, commendatio anime et una dies tantum pro eo agatur.

Oratio pro defuncto fratre:^{a317} `Satisfaciatb tibi, Domine Deus noster, pro anima fratris nostri (N.) beatae Dei genitricis semperque uirginis Mariae atque Sancti Benedicti confessoris tui omniumque sanctorum tuorum^{3t8} oratio et praesentis familiae tuae deuota supplicatio, ut peccatorum omnium ueniam quam precamur optineat, nec eum patiaris cruciari gehennalibus flammis, quem eiusdem Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi glorioso sanguine redemisti. Qui tecum.

66 When lie is on the verge of death, then, the tabula shall be struck and all shall assemble to keep watch at his passing; and they shall begin the commendatio animae: 'Come to [his] assistance, ye saints of God', according to the commendation rite. Once the man is dead, his body shall be washed by those on whom the task is enjoined. After being washed, the body is clothed in clean garments, namely, a shirt, a cowl, stockings and shoes - all of these regardless of his rank. If he was a priest, a stole is placed over the cowl around [his neck], if resources permit. Then he is borne into the church while all chant and all the bells are rung. And if he cannot be buried on that same day before the brothers take their meal, they shall keep watch around the body overnight and devote themselves to recitation of the psalms until, come morning, they may celebrate mass for his soul (at which all shall present the offerings), and the body be thus committed to the earth.

67 As the brothers return from the burial, they shall begin the seven psalms and finish these prostrate in choir, adding the Lord's Prayer and a collect. Then for the next seven days at the end of every [liturgical] hour they shall prostrate themselves and sing one of the aforesaid psalms, followed by a collect, and full Vigils [of the Dead] shall be said on his behalf, as well as the matutinal mass, at which all shall make the offering. From then on, up to the thirtieth day, Vigils [of the Dead] of three lessons shall be said for him, as shall the matutinal mass, but with [only] one choir making the offering. Also, every single priest shall reverently celebrate thirty masses for the soul of the deceased brother, and the other brothers are to assist [his soul] as much as they are able by reciting the psalms. But on the thirtieth day, they shall again say Vigils [of the Dead] in full on his behalf, as well as the first mass, at which [again] all shall make the offering. And his name shall be entered in the anniversaries.

68 And a letter shall be sent to all the neighboring monasteries to make known the date of his burial. The sense of [the letter] shall be: The lord abbot N. of the monastery N. to all the faithful of the holy church, both those in authority and those subject to them. Whereas the fate of that irrevocable hour lies in store for all, we wish to notify you concerning a certain brother of ours, N., whom the Lord has deigned to call from the prison of this world on the day N. We humbly beg that you would tirelessly intercede to the Lord on his behalf and that in your intercession he might recognize to whom he had been united in monastic fellowship.'

69 But should word come that some brother from another, familiar monastery has died, the tabula shall be struck and, while the bell is being rung, they shall chant the fifteen gradual psalms for his soul. And on the first, seventh and thirtieth day, [Vigils of the Dead] shall be said in full for him, but in shortened form on the remaining days. Should word come, moreover, that some brother from an unknown monastery has died, only the commendatio animae and a single day's [commemoration] shall be performed.

319 Finiunt consuetudines.

70 Quia' rogastis fratres scribi uobis qualiter legere siue cantare per anni circulum in ecclesia debeatis, exponam uobis secundum auctoritatem eccle- siasticam [p. 2651 et secundum consuetudinem in qua hucusque conuersati sumus,320 ita ut in Septuagessima legamus Genesim usque in mediam Quad- ragessimam,321 et in primis canimus una die tantum hystoriam 'Alleluia dum praesens est'.322 Et in tota ebdomada canimus responsoria de psalmis 'Quam magna

multitudo' et cetera,³²³ deinde aliis ebdomadibus sicut in antiphonario habetur canimus. Media uero Quadragesima legimus Exodum et canimus 'Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen'.³²⁴ In Passione Domini, id est <duas> b ebdomadas ante Pasca, legimus Hieremiam prophetam³²⁵ usque in Cenam Domini et canimus una ebdomada 'Isti sunt dies', altera uero 'In die qua inuocaui te'.³²⁶ Sed hoc ipsum responsorium 'Isti sunt dies' non est canendum nisi dominica die, quia fallit cantor si aliis diebus cantet, 'Quarta decima die ad uesperum Pasca Domini est', cum non sit integer numerus dierum nisi a dominica die.³²⁷

In Cena Domini legimus lectiones iii. de Lamentatione Hieremie et tractatus Sancti` Augustine de psalmo 'Exaudi Deus orationem meam cum deprecor' iii., et tres de apostolo³²⁸ ubi ait 'Ego autem accepi a Domino quod et tradidi uobis'. Feria vi. in primis lectiones iii. de Lamentatione Hieremie et tres de tractu sancti Augustini de eodem psalmo et tres de apostolo ubi ait 'Festinemus ingredi in illam requiem'.³²⁹ In Sabbato Sancto similiter omniad complenda sunt, sed in tertia sede legimus de tractu euuangelii sicut in toto anno facimus.³³⁰ Nam his tribus noctibus canimus sicut [p. 266] antiphonarium nos docet.

71 In dominica Pascae et in tota ebdomada illa legimus tres lectiones de tractibus euuangeliorum ipsius festiuitatis,³³¹ et canimus in prima nocte 'Angelus Domini', alias uero noctibus canimus 'Maria Magdalene'³³² et cetera. In octauis Pasce legimus de epistolic canonicis³³³ et repetamus 'Maria Magdalene'. In dominica post octauas Pasce legimus Apocalipsin usque Ascensionem Domini'³³⁴ et canimus duobus ebdomadibus 'Ego sicut uitis'.¹³⁵ Post hoc canimus 'Narrabo nomen tuum'³³⁶ usque Ascensionem Domini. In Ascensione Domini legimus tres lectiones de capite Actuum Apostolorum et postea sermones de eadem festiuitate,³³⁷ et canimus 'Post Passionem Domini'³³¹ usque Pentecosten.

A prayer on behalf of a brother who has died: 'May the prayer of the blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin, Mary, of your holy confessor Benedict, and of all your saints, together with the fervent supplication of your present family, O Lord our God, be a satisfaction to you on behalf of the soul of our brother, N.: that for all his sins he may obtain that mercy for which we pray, and that you would not permit him to be tormented by the flames of hell whom you have redeemed by the glorious blood of your Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who [lives and reigns] with you', etc.

Here end the customs.

70 Because you have asked, brothers, to have written down for you how you are supposed to read or sing in church through the course of the year, I will explain [it] to you according to both ecclesiastical ordinance and the custom by which we have lived up until now, to the effect that: in Septuagesima we should read Genesis until mid-Lent, and we sing the history 'Alleluia: While it is present' first and for one day only, and for the week as a whole we sing the responsories from the psalms, 'O how great is the multitude' and so forth. Then, in the other weeks, we sing what is found in the antiphoner. But [from] mid-Lent we read Exodus and sing 'The Lord said to Moses'. In Passiontide, that is, for the two weeks before Easter, we read the prophet. Jeremiah until Maundy Thursday and sing in one week 'These are the days' and, in the next, 'In the day when I called upon thee'. But the aforesaid responsory 'These are the days' is not to be sung except on [Passion] Sunday, for the cantor errs if on other days he sings, 'On the evening of the fourteenth day [from now] is the Passover of the Lord', since the number is not a full [fourteen days] except from [Passion] Sunday.

On Maundy Thursday we read three lessons from the Lamentations of Jeremiah and three from St Augustine's exposition of the psalm 'Hear, O God, my prayer, when I make supplication to thee' and three from the Apostle, where he says, 'For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you'. On Friday, first [come} three readings from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and [then} three from St Augustine's exposition of the aforementioned psalm and three from the Apostle, where he says, 'Let us hasten [therefore] to enter into that rest.' On Holy Saturday everything is to be carried out in a similar way, save that we read from an exposition of the gospel in the third position, as we do throughout the entire year. In these three nights we sing as the antiphoner instructs us.

71 On Easter and in the whole week [thereafter] we read three lessons from homilies on the gospel readings for that same feast, and on the first night we sing 'An angel of the Lord', but on the other nights we sing 'Mary Magdalene' and so forth. On the Octave of Easter we read from the canonical epistles and should repeat 'Mary Magdalene'. On the Sunday after the Octave of Easter we read the Apocalypse, until [the feast of] the Ascension, and for two weeks we sing 'I am as the vine'. After this we sing 'I will declare thy name', until Ascension Day. On Ascension we read three lessons from the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles and afterwards sermons on the same feast, and we sing 'After the Passion of the Lord', until Pentecost.

72 In Pentecosten Iota ebdomada legimus tres lectiones de tractibus euuangeliorum,³³⁹ et canimus 'Dum complerentur'.³⁴⁰ In octauis Pentecosten legimus et canimus de sancta Trinitate.³⁴¹ Dominica post octabas Pentecosten ponimus Regum³⁴² usque in dominicam primam mensis Augusti, et canimus 'Deus omnium'.³⁴³

73 Omnibus uero festiuitatibus sanctorum in Coto anno legimus uitas aut passiones ipsorum sanctorum siue sermones congruentes ipsi sollempnitati et responsoria propria, si habeantur. Sin alias, alia congruentia canimus et tertiam sedem de tractu euuangelii sicut et ubique semper sumimus.³⁴⁴

74 In dominica prima mensis Augusti ponimus Salomonem³⁴⁵ usque in Kalendas Septembris, et canimus 'In principio'.³⁴⁶ In Kalendis Septembris legimus lob duobus ebdomadibus³⁴⁷ et canimus 'Si bona'.³⁴⁸ In tertia septimana eiusdem mensis legimus [p. 267] Tobiam³⁴⁹ et canimus 'Pero Domine'.³⁵¹ In quarta septimana ponimus Iudith, Hester et Ezdra, et canimus 'Tribulationes'³⁵ et cetera. Dominica prima mensis Octobris ponimus libros Machabeorum et canimus 'Adaperiat'³⁵² usque Kalendas Nouembris. a Mense uero Novembre legimus Ezechielem et Danielelem et minores prophetas,³⁵³ et canimus 'Vidi Dominum'³⁵⁴ usque Aduentum Domini.

75 In Aduentu Domini legimus Isaia³⁵⁵ usque Natiuitatem Domini et canimus prima ebdomadaa 'Aspiciens',³⁵⁶ et 'Dominus regnauit' ad matutinales laudes sicut et in Septuagessima, sed hic omnibus dominicis et ibi Septuagessima sola.³⁵⁷ Ceteris septimanis canimus sicut in antiphonario habetur.

76 In Natale Domini legimus lectiones iii. de Esaia, quarum prima est 'Primo tempore alleuiata est', secunda 'Consolamini', <tertia> 'Consurge, consurge, induere',^{35s} deinde sermones catholicorum patrum de eodem die, et canimus 'Hodie □obis'.³⁵⁹

72 On Pentecost and for the entire week [thereafter] we read three lessons from homilies on the gospels, and we sing 'When [the days of the Pentecost] were accomplished'. On the Octave of Pentecost we read and sing of the Holy Trinity. To the Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost we allot the Book of Kings until the first Sunday of the month of August, and we sing 'God [hears the prayers] of all'.

73 But on all feasts of the saints, throughout the entire year, we read lives or passions of the saints themselves, or sermons appropriate to the given solemnity, and [we sing] proper responsories, if these are to be had; if not, we sing other appropriate ones and adopt for the third

position [readings] from a homily on the gospel, as we do always and everywhere.

74 [From] the first Sunday of the month of August until the Kalends of September we assign [the books of] Solomon, and we sing 'In the beginning'. [From] the Kalends of September we read Job for two weeks and sing 'If [we have received] good things'. In the third week of the same month we read Tobit and sing 'I beg, O Lord'. To the fourth week we assign Judith, Esther and Esdras and sing '[We have heard] the tribulations' and the rest. [To] the first Sunday of the month of October until the Kalends of November we allot the books of the Maccabees and sing 'May he open [your heart]'. But in the month of November we read Ezechiel, Daniel and the minor prophets and sing 'I saw the Lord', until Advent.

75 In Advent we read Isaiah, until Christmas, and in the first week we sing 'I look from afar' and, at Lauds, [the psalm] 'The Lord hath reigned' just as in Septuagesima (but then on Septuagesima [Sunday] only, here [in Advent] on every Sunday). In the remaining weeks we sing what is found in the antiphoner.

76 On Christmas we read three lessons from Isaiah, of which the first is 'At the first time [the land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephtali] was lightly touched', the second 'Be comforted' [and] the third 'Arise, arise, put on [thy strength]', then sermons on the same day by the church fathers, and we sing 'To us this day'.

77 In dominica siue feria uacante ab Innocentibus usque Epiphaniam legimus et canimus de ipsa festiuitate Natiuitatis Domini.³⁶⁰ In Octauis Domini legimus sermones congruentes ipsi diei, et responsoria de Natiuitate Domini canimus.³⁶¹ Nos tenemus etiam octauas sancti Stephani et sancti Iohannis et sanctorum Innocentium, et de ipsis legimus et canimus.³⁶²

In Epiphania Domini legimus tres lectiones de Isaia, primam 'Omnes sitientes', ii. 'Surge inluminare', iii. 'Gaudens gaudebo in Domino',³⁶³ deinde sermones de ipsa festiuitate, et sic legimus et canimus de ipsa sollempnitate usque in octauas Epiphaniae. Prima dominica post octauas {p. 268} Epiphaniae legimus epistolas Pauli uel tractus psalmodum³⁶⁴ usque Septuagesimam, et canimus 'Domine ne in ira tua'³⁶⁵ et in singulis feriis tria responsoria de psalmis, sicut in antiphonario habentur.

78 Et sciendum quod tota bibliotheca debet legi in circulo anni in ecclesia, sed quia nos pigri serui sumus et segnes, legimus in refectorio

quicquid de ea in ecclesia omittimus.366

79 In libris quoque prophetarum in quibus increpatio et obiurgatio fit ad populum, sicut in Hieremia, Ezechiele, Isaiae, dicimus post lectiones 'Haec dicit Dominus Deus exercituum: Conuertimini ad me et salui eritis.' In aliis uero, in quibus quasi hystoria narratur, dicimus 'Tu autem Domine, miserere nostri.'367

80 Volo etiam uos scire, fratres karissimi, ualde gratum mihi fore quod obedienter mihi consensistis in hoc, ut tres lectiones cum totidem responsoriis tota aestate ad nocturnas sicut hieme iam preteritis annis tenuimus,368 quod nolumus uita comite deserere ferialibus noctibus; et quod missas dominicas in Quadragesima secunda et tertia feria ad primam missam repetitis, ut saltem ter celebrentur.369 Similiter omnes dominicas missas <repetitis> a ut, si festiuitates intercurrent, tantummodo ter celebrentur in ebdomada, ne uilescere uid- eantur.370

Valete feliciter in Christo, dilectissimi fratres.

77 From [the feast of the Holy} Innocents until Epiphany, on Sunday and on ordinary ferias we read and sing as on the feast of Christmas itself. On the Octave of Christmas we read sermons appropriate to the day and sing the Christmas responsories. We also observe the Octaves [of the feasts} of SS Stephen and John and of the Holy Innocents, and we read and sing about them.

On Epiphany we read three lessons from Isaiah: the first 'All you that thirst', the second 'Arise, be enlightened' and the third 'I will greatly rejoice', then sermons on the feast itself. And so we read and sing about the same solemnity until the Octave of Epiphany. [From] the first Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany until Septuagesima we read the epistles of Paul or expositions of the psalms, and we sing '[Rebuke me} not, O Lord, in thy indignation', and on ferias [we sing] three responsories from the psalms, as in the antiphoner.

78 And be it known that, in the course of a year, the entire canon [of Scripture] ought to be read in church, but because we are lazy and slothful servants, we read in the refectory whatever we do not cover in church.

79 Also, in the books of the prophets, in which a rebuke or reproach is delivered against the people, as in Jeremiah, Ezechiel [or] Isaiah, we say after the lessons, 'Thus says the Lord God of hosts: Turn to me and you will be saved.' But in other [lessons], in which a narrative, as

it were, is recounted, we say, 'But thou, O Lord, have mercy on us.'

80 I also wish you to know, dearest brothers, how very pleased I am that you have obediently agreed with me on this matter: namely, that for years now we have retained three lessons and the same number of responsories at Nocturns for the whole summer period just as in winter - [a custom] which we do not wish to abandon on ferial nights, so long as we live; and [how pleased I am] that in Lent at the first mass for Mondays and Tuesdays you repeat the Sunday masses, so that these are celebrated at least three times. [You should repeat] all Sunday masses in this same way so that, even if feast days intervene, they are celebrated as many as three times in the week, lest their worth appear diminished.

I bid you health and happiness in Christ, most beloved brothers.

Commentary

I Preface (LME 1)

LME A 1fric's prefatory letter

zElfricus abbas . . . salutem in Christo For nearly all of his published works IElfric composed epistolary or dedicatory prefaces in Latin, Old English or both, in which he typically stated his motives for writing the text, the identity of his intended audience and a summary of the authorities on whom he has depended. For a convenient collected edition of all the prefaces and discussion of IElfric's uses of this highly conventional form, see IElfric's Prefaces, ed. Wilcox, esp. pp. 65-71. iElfric's prefaces contain biographical information that accounts for most of what is known about his career. Although IElfric elsewhere styles himself 'abbot', his remarks at LME 1, 70 and 80 provide the only specific evidence that he held this office at Eynsham. On this debate, see above, pp. 4-10.

Z nuper rogatu IEthelmzri For reasons unknown, jEthelmur, son of i lfric's long-time patron, Ealdorman YEthelweard of the western shires, withdrew from King /Ethelred's court and endowed a monastery at Eynsham. There, according to the royal charter of confirmation dated 1005 (S 911), it was his intention to live out the rest of his days 'as a father' among the monks. On the foundation, date and i thelmer's career thereafter, see ch. 1. On the interpretation of nuper and its implications for the chronology of ,~Elfric's career, see also commentary to LME 80.

libro consuetudinurn In the technical vocabulary of medieval monasticism, the terms consuetudo and consuetudines came to refer to customs which, though not explicitly prescribed by Benedict's Rule, were vital parts of the regular life. The liber consuetudinum here mentioned is the Regularis concordia, a collection of such customs drawn up by /Elfric's mentor, St fEthelwold. For an overview of 'Elfric's adaptation of this source, see above, pp. 19-58. As used throughout the LME, however, the terms consuetudo and consuetudines seem to mean not 'monastic custom' in general but rather serve as short titles for /Ethelwold's specific liber consuetudinuni. When /Elfric tags an instruction with 'consuentdo (doter)', he is, as it were, 'footnoting' his source, the Ret;ulari_r concnrdia; see instances at LME 26, 28-30, 33, 36-7, =40, 58, 60, 62-3 and perhaps 69.

Aoelu'oldra Wintoniensis episcopu iEthelwold, bishop of Winchester from 29 November 963 until his death on 1 August 984. The best survey of his life and career is found in the introduction to *Life of St fthelu'old*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. xxxix-ci and cxii-cxliii.

undique collegit ac monachis instituit o/seruandum On the value of fElfric's statement as evidence for kthelwold's authorship of the *Regularis concmrlia*, against the longstanding attribution to Dunstan, see RC (Kornexl), pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

6 hactenuc . . . inirgnitus habetur This statement has been read as evidence that the liturgical unity by fiat, seemingly advocated in the proem of the *Concordia*, did not long outlive Athelwold (d. 984) and Dunstan (d. 988), if it ever existed at all. Still others have cited A lfric's statement as evidence that even in the beginning the *Concordia* was never imposed on all English monasteries as an absolute standard; see the excellent summary of the debate in RC (Kornexl), pp. li-ivi and cliv. Kornexl urges caution against the assumption that the tALE indicates a waning influence of the *Concordia*.

7 in scola eius ... didici fElfric proudly refers several times to his training at fEthelwold's cathedral (the Old Minster), Winchester: for example, in the Latin preface to his *First Series of Catholic Homilies*, as well as in those to the *Grammar*, the *Vila S. ,Etheluroldi* and the *LIME* (all discussed in ' /frie) *Pre/aces*, ed. Wilcox, p. 7). Such statements, however sincere as expressions of personal loyalty and indebtedness, also publicize their author's impressive credentials. fElfric enjoyed an intellectual and ecclesiastical pedigree that would bolster his authority within the walls of his own house and establish his credibility before the wider audience of his published works.

de libro Avnalarii presbyteri Clearly, what is being referred to is the *Liber officiali.c* (often called the *De ecclesiastici_r officiis*) of Amalarius of Metz (d. 852 or 853). Alfric does not appear to have known the full text, however, but the two-book post-Amalarium redaction now known as the *Retractatio prima*, and that in a further adapted version. On Amalarius's work and YElfric's use of it in the *LME* and elsewhere, see above, pp. 59-68.

II Basic ferial horarium a Kalendis Octobris (LME 2-4)

9 prima canenda ect, etc. Departing from his source (RC 15) i lfric begins not with the monks' rising for Nocturns, but with the first of the 'little hours' (Prime). His decision to do so is not easily explained, but as noted in the introduction (pp. 27-32), the opening sections of the LME condense and re-order provisions for: (i) the horarium in its transitional period between summer and full winter forms, and (ii) two of the major supplementary devotions introduced, or at least standardized, by the Concordia. The choice to begin with Prime may also echo the disposition of psalms in the Benedictine cursus, which assigns Ps. I to Prime on Monday (RSB, c. XVIII.4). For an overview of IElfric's reworking of this material, see the table in ch. 2 (above, p. 32).

10 septem psalmis et letaniis That is, the seven penitential psalms: VI, XXXI, XXXVII, L, CI, CXXIX and CXLII. The Concordia gives a fuller picture of the monks' devotions after Prime, including the penitential psalms, but with the added detail at RC 22, 'deuote interposito psalmo Inclina Domine' (Ps. LXXXV) - although where and how the extra psalm shall be 'inserted' is not clear. Neither 'Elfric nor the Concordia ever specifies the precise form of the litany after Prime, although the latter does indicate that the litany shall be sung prostrate (RC 22). This devotion almost certainly took the form of a litany of the saints, numerous examples of which survive in English manuscripts from the eighth century onwards. On their function in the Concordia, see Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints, ed. Lapidge, p. 44. The devotions after Prime are also mentioned by the puer in iElfric's Colloquy (ed. Garmonsway, p. 44, lines 271-2) and are given at length in Latin and Old English in the peculiar bilingual Benedictine Office (ed. Ure, pp. 89-94), although the character of this document remains disputed; see J. W. Houghton, 'The Old English Benedictine Office and its Audience', *American Benedictine Review* 45 (1994), 431-45.

signum tertie insonuerit j lfric's expression is slightly misleading since, as context verifies, he clearly means the bell signalling the end of lectio, not that signalling the beginning of Terce proper. The source avoids the ambiguity (RC 64: 'facto signo eant ad calciendum'), as does the author of a fragmentary Old English translation of the Concordia in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, who (in another context) coins the useful term scocnylle 'shoe-bell' (see 'Ein weiteres Bruchstiick', ed. Zupitza, p. 10, line 115).

12 orationes faciant IElfric's vague orations may imply a single established routine at Eynsham, but it should be noted that the source (RC 23) provides several devotions from which to choose,

including the penitential psalms and the secular Office.

13 *scola simul* Schola here is the collective term for the boys (*pueri*) who live and are schooled in the monastery. These participated fully in the liturgical life of the house and would, when grown, often join the ranks of professed monks (RC (Symons), p. xli). Their presence is assumed throughout the Concordia, and Eynsham was evidently large enough and adequately staffed to assume the responsibilities of this arrangement. In the Concordia the term *schola* is also used of the *schola cantorum* ('choir') in liturgical contexts. The only vestige of this sense in s 1fric's text occurs at LME 46 (q.v., based on RC 77), where the cantor is given the alternate title *magister scholae*, on which term see D. A. Bullough, 'The Educational Tradition in England from Alfred to s'Elfric: Teaching *utriusque linguae*', rev. and repr. in his *Carolingian Renewal*, pp. 297-334, at 309.

14 *prima missa . . . missam de die* Two daily communal masses were the assumed norm by the time the Concordia was compiled. The earlier, variously termed the 'first' or 'matutinal' (or 'morrow' or 'Chapter') mass, was celebrated after Prime in the summer period, after Terce in the winter; cf. OE *capitolmaesse* in the Dictionary of Old English: C, ed. A. C. Amos et al. (Toronto, 1988). The second mass (also 'mass of the day' or 'principal mass') took place after Terce in the summer period, after Sext in the winter. The Concordia implies a lay presence at the principal mass on major feasts (RC 28), but no firm conclusions can be drawn from flfric's silence on this point.

LME 3 The *trina oratio*; cf. RC 17-18, 24 and 37-8

15 *ter ... orationes trey in oratorio* Where the Concordia provides a detailed breakdown of the components of this devotion (the *trina oratio*) across the horarium, iElfric allows this greatly condensed treatment to serve once and for all. The relative economy of the LME at this point may indicate that the *trina oratio* was already familiar to the Eynsham monks, though whether or not as a direct result of the Concordia cannot be known. The devotion as described in the Concordia consists of three groups of psalms, each group to be said with further prayers and a special collect - given in full in the Concordia - for a specific intention. Thus before Nocturns the seven penitential psalms are said in the groupings: Pss. VI, XXXI and XXXVII + Lord's Prayer and collect (for the monk's own soul); Pss. L and CI + Lord's Prayer and collect (for the king); Pss. CXXIX and CXLII + Lord's Prayer and collect (for the dead). The form of the

trina oratio before Prime (or before Terce in the winter) is not specified in the Concordia. After Compline the order is: Pss. XII and XLII + 'Kyrie' + Lord's Prayer + preces and a collect; Pss. LXVI and CXXVI + 'Kyrie', etc.; Ps. CXXIX + 'Kyrie', etc. (no intentions are specified for any of these). For a discussion of the trines oratio and its development, see Tolhurst, pp. 57-64; Symons, 'A Note on the Trina Oratio', DR 42 (1924), 67-83; idem, 'Notes on a History of Benedictinism', DR 61 (1948), 191-203, at 191-4; and Roper, pp. 37-8 and 203-5 (Table 2:4). For analogues in continental customaries, see Hallinger's apparatus to RC 17, 81.9-82.8.

16 primo signo That is, the first bell rousing the monks for Nocturns.

17 cum conprnctione ... omni nocte Vestiges, perhaps, of AElfric's gleaned methods, these provisions technically have nothing to do with the trina oratio but have been uprooted and awkwardly transferred, along with the relevant matter, from RC 37. The Concordia prescribes the order: public confession + Compline + Ps. L + psalmi familiares (see commentary to LME 4, at no. 18-31) + trim oratio + asperges. It does not mention, but probably did include, j lfric's benedictio - presumably the dialogue 'Benedicamus Domino: Den gratias.'

LME 4 The psalmi familiares; cf. RC 19, 21, 22, 24, 33, 34 and 37

x Pro rege et pro benefactoribus, etc. Treated here by iElfric with the same compression as the trim oratio (at LME 3), this complex set of devotions for the royal house and benefactors, to be said after every Office (including the principal mass), has been viewed as one of the most distinctive features of the Concordia; see Symons, 'Sources', pp. 146-9; cf. Wormald, 'iEthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', pp. 32-3, and RC (Kornexl), p. xlvii, n. 59. YElfric generally tends, however, to downplay the royalism of his source (see discussion above, pp. 43-9). The retention of these prayers would seem to indicate an entrenched custom, but cf. below, n. 20.

19 omnibus horis There is disagreement as to whether or not the psalmi familiares, strictly defined, were chanted after Prime. They are not mentioned at the relevant place in RC 22, where two additional psalms (with prayers) are prescribed but with different intentions: (a) 'pro carnis temptatione' = Ps. XXXVII + preces and collect (both specified); and (b) 'pro defunctis fratribus' = Ps. L (+ preces?) + collect (specified). On the basis of these instructions in the Concordia, Tolhurst (pp. 82-3), Symons (RC (Symons), p. 15 n.

6), Hallinger (apparatus to RC 19, 83.14-15) and Roper (p. 30) maintain that psalms for royalty were not said after Prime, in spite of the explicit instruction 'omnibus horis' at RC 19 and 31. Against this view, see RC (Kornexl), p. lxiv, n. 33. LME 4 seems to support the traditional view of Tolhurst and others, but IElfric's abridgement is too drastic to permit a decisive ruling.

20 duo psalmi ... et oratione YElfric's distillation of the custom notes the two psalms after every hour but does not specify the collects except to indicate where these shall be proper and where simply of the hour'. Proper collects are given in full at RC 19, where the following intentions are also specified: the first psalm shall be for the king, the second for the king, queen and benefactors together. Of the three collects then given in full, the first is specifically for the king, the second for the queen, and the third for king, queen and benefactors. IElfric's simple, unspecified oratio may reflect his gentle retreat from the more overt royalism of the Concordia: without the special collects and careful division of intentions given in the source, this devotion might easily lose its political cast and come to resemble any other psalm-based devotion in the horarium (of which there were many, including the trim oratio and psalms after Chapter). The Concordia does not explicitly mention as a regular part of the devotion the Lord's Prayer and preces, as IElfric does. For extensive treatment of this devotion and its components, see Tolhurst, pp. 81-93; Symons, 'Sources', pp. 146-69; and Roper, pp. 35-7, 202-3 (Table 2:3) and 207 (Table 2:5).

21 'Domine ne in furore tuo' primum, 'Exaudiat te Dominus' Pss. VI and XIX. Primum indicates that IElfric intends Ps. VI, the first psalm in numerical sequence (I-CL) beginning 'Domine ne in furore tuo', as opposed to Ps. XXXVII, which has the same incipit.

22 'Beati quorum', 'Inclina Domine' Pss. XXXI and LXXXV.

23 sub una collecta illius hore The corresponding details in the Concordia are vague, but IElfric's form of this devotion seems to depart from the source by incorporating the psalmi familiares after Lauds, Vespers and Compline into the domain of those Offices, so that the two added psalms are concluded not by proper collects (like those at RC 19), but with the closing prayer of the liturgical hour itself. Tolhurst theorizes that this devotion underwent substantial, gradual change from its earlier form (in the Concordia) to that preserved in the LME: 'But before the adaptation by abbot IElfric ... two alterations had been made: the position of the two psalms at Lauds, Vespers and Compline had been altered and their collects

dropped altogether; and the devotion said at Prime had been superseded by another of a different form and said for a different intention. IElfric, or the version of the Regularis Concordia from which he was working, went still further and added Pater nester and preces to the original form as said after Matins and the little hours, and at the same time substituted one collect for the original three' (pp. 83-4). On the other hand, the sparing treatment of the custom in the LME also suggests a practice already familiar to the Eynsham community, the senior members of whom would not have been trained by , lfric, so the assignment of any 'innovations' to him must remain tentative. It also bears repeating that here and elsewhere departures from the Concordia may be more apparent than real, the result of arbitrary omissions on the part of fElfric or, as in the present case, an intermediate source.

24 'Domine ne in furore tuo' (ii) ... 'Miserere mei, Deus' Pss. XXXVII and L. The roman numeral '(ii)' serves the same purpose as the ordinal prinrrnu discussed above, n. 21.

25 'Vsquequo Domine', 'Miserere mei, Deus, miserere met' Pss. XII and LVI.

26 'Deus misereatur nostri', 'Domine exaudi' (i) Pss. LXVI and Cl.

27 'Exaudiat to Dominus', 'Ad to leuaut ocubor meos' Pss. XIX and CXXII.

28 'Qui regis Israel', 'De profundis' Pss. LXXIX and CXXIX.

29 'Benedixisti Domine'. Domine exaudi' (ii) Pss- LXXXIV and CXLII.

30 coniunctim . . . sinaxis See above, n. 23.

3t Dens in adiutorium meum intende'. Leuauai ocu/os meos' Pss. LXIX and CXX.

III Variations for the Sunday or festal horarium (LME 5 and 7-10)

LME 5 The order after Prime; cf. RC 27-8 and 83

32 Dominicis hero diebus et festiuz-r, etc. At the beginning of his description of the daily horarium, yElfric warned that the order would fall somewhat differently on Sundays and major feasts (LME 2: 'exceptis dominicis et festiuis diebus'), so the backtracking here at LAZE 5 is much less confusing than the corresponding about-face at

RC 27 (see above, pp. 27-9). Even so, the LME presents the same basic festal order as the source. On ferias the order shall be Prime + Terce + matutinal mass + Chapter; but on Sundays and feasts, the order after Prime is reversed, i.e., Chapter + matutinal mass + Terce.

33 *facto signo a priore* The phrase is lifted from the Concordia, where it is used in the context of the description of the ferial, not the festal order (see RC 26; cf. RSB, c. XX.5).

34 *capitulum* The form of monastic Chapter is taken for granted in the LME, although extensive instructions are given within the ferial horarium of the Concordia, which include a reading from the martyrology, prayers, a reading from and brief exposition of the Rule as well as a public confession of faults (RC 26). On the customs for Chapter, see Tolhurst, pp. 50-5, and Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 412. Partial instructions in Latin and Old English also survive in the Benedictine Office, ed. Ure, pp. 94-5.

35 *sanctifcent Salem ... dominicis diebus tantum* The procession with asperges pertains to the mass of the day but is mentioned at this point because there would be no pause between Terce and the principal mass. This procession and blessing of holy water are also required by the Concordia, although IElfric's phrase *Salem et aquam* is more explicit (cf. RC 28: 'consecrationem aspersionis').

36 *Similiter a Pascha . . . capitulum* Similarities between the Sunday order and that for ferias in Eastertide prompt this confusing digression. From these and the preceding details in LME 5 we may reconstruct the following horaria:

<i>Ferias a Kalendis Octobris:</i>	<i>Sundays per annum</i> ; also ferias from Easter through the Octave of Pentecost:	Ferias through the summer period <i>ab Octauis Pentecosten</i> (cf. RC 83):
Prime	Prime	Prime
Terce	Chapter	matutinal mass
matutinal mass	matutinal mass	Chapter
Chapter	Terce	Terce
Sext	mass of the day	mass of the day
mass of the day	Sext	Sext
None	None	None

Although the source does not present this information so succinctly, these parts of IElfric's horarium agree in outline with the Concordia; see RC (Symons), pp. xliii-xliv.

LME 6 Extra psalms after Chapter; cf. RC 32

37 *Surgentes a capitulo*, etc. The hazards of a too severe abridgement are evident here. Awkwardly inserted between LME 5 and 7, both of which concern the Sunday horarium, this instruction implies that the five additional psalms after Chapter (a practice taken over in the Concordia from the eighth-century *Memoriale qualiter*) are likewise only a Sunday custom. In the Concordia, however, the instructions corresponding to LME 5 and 7 are not similarly interrupted (cf. RC 27-8), and the provision for the five psalms after Chapter (RC 32) marks a clear return to the description of the ferial horarium. Also, before the Concordia-author leaves the ferial to take up the Sunday horarium, he inserts the proleptic remark: 'Finito hoc spiritualis purgaminis negotio [i.e., Chapter faults] quinque psalmos qui post notantur pro defunctis fratribus decantent' (RC 26, emphasis added). It seems that IElfric either adapted these sections carelessly for the LME or that he himself misunderstood the Concordia (but see below, n. 42).

31 'Verba mea' Ps. V.

39 'Domine ne in furore tuo' The clarifying (i) or (ii) is omitted from the manuscript, but the identification as Ps. VI is clear from RC 32. The sequence of psalms for this devotion may have been so familiar that a distinguishing number was unnecessary.

40 'Dilexi quoniam', 'Credidi propter', 'De profundis' Pss. CXIV-CXV and CXXIX.

41 *quos sequatur ... cum collecta* These are not explicitly prescribed at RC 32.

LME 7 Sunday horarium, resumed; cf. RC 27

42 *Dominicis tamen diebus*, etc. On the apparent vacillation between festal and ferial customs, see the comments above, at n. 37. Concessive *tamen* here is the only indication that Ufric correctly intends the five psalms after Chapter (LME 6) as a ferial custom.

43 *protendatur prima* The phrase is borrowed from RC 28: *In diebus*

festis ... ita protendatur Prima, ut capitulo facto matutinalique missa celebrata ... si dies dominica fuerit, mox accedant ad consecrationem conspersionis, si alia quaelibet sollemnitas mox ad Tertiam' (the blessing of holy water here mentioned accompanies the procession before the principal mass on Sundays; see comment above, at n. 35). Neither the LME nor its source indicates exactly how Prime is to be lengthened.

44 *sedeat abbas . . . ad confessionem* In a few details Ylfric is more explicit than his source, which allows confession to the abbot or his appointed officer (RC 27: 'patri spirituali uel eius . . . uicario'; on the term *pater spiritualis* for 'abbot', see IZC (Symons), p. xxxix, n. 2, and p. 18, n. 6). The Concordia also requires the *flhola* (i.e., the *pueri*) to participate and does not explicitly mention the cloister as the place for sacramental confessions on Sunday. On R-Ifric's specification of the cloister, see Spurrell, 'Architectural Interest', p. 173.

LME 8 Communion practices; cf. RC 29

45 *Omni dominica ... euiharistiam accipiant* In a notable departure from the Concordia, where daily communion is encouraged, Zlfric restricts the custom to Sundays and feasts. Daily reception would have been unusual for the time, and the Concordia stands virtually alone in recommending it, as Symons has noted ('Sources', p. 157). Daily communion is, moreover, one practice in which Symons detected the possible influence of 'golden-age' Anglo-Saxon tradition on the reformers, in this instance through their familiarity with Bede's Letter to Bishop Ecgberht of York (*ibid.*, p. 158). Bede there urges Ecgberht always to admonish those living in the world 'how healthful for every sort of Christian is daily reception of the Body and Blood of Christ' (trans. mine; see *Venerabilis Baedae epistola ad E gberctum antistitem*, c. 15, in *Bede: Historical Works*, ed. and trans. J. E. King, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1930) 11, 478: 'quam salutaris sit omni Christianorum generi quotidiana Dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptio').

"6 *qui antea missam fecerunt* This stipulation, not found in the Concordia, would include the celebrant of the matutinal mass and perhaps those in the community who had earlier offered 'private masses', although nowhere does TElfric explicitly refer to the latter practice (but see comment below, at n. 311). On the *missa priuata* and its evolution, see the brief sketch in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 156-9.

47 'Qui cotidie ... accipere' At RC 29 the passage is attributed to a work called *De uerbis Domini*, supposedly by Augustine. The full quotation in the *Concordia*, however, is actually a composite of phrases from Ambrose's *De sacramentis* and any of several Augustinian or pseudo-Augustinian sermons (Symons, 'Sources', pp. 157-8, and Hallinger's apparatus to RC 29, 89.4-9). Admittedly, a quotation justifying daily communion does not serve sElfric's revised teaching very well.

LME 9 Warning against tardiness and improprieties in worship

48 *regularium monachorum consuetudo*, etc. This section does not correspond closely to any part of the *Concordia*, even though the term *consuetudo* normally occurs in the LME to acknowledge a debt to IEthelwold's customary, especially to signal the end of an interpolation from another source (see above, n. 3). The spirit, and occasionally the wording (e.g., *occurrere neglegenter*), of this passage are strongly reminiscent of RSB, c. XLIII.4-5 and 13-14. See also RSB, c. XIX.7 (on standing during the psalmody) which is partially quoted in RC 8.

49 *minutione ... sanguinis* This practice is often mentioned in medieval customs, but not in the *Concordia*; see RC (Symons), p. xxxix.

LME 10 Votive matutinal masses; cf. RC 28 and 25

50 *missa de sancta Trinitate* For the votive mass of the Trinity, probably composed and assigned to Sunday by Alcuin, see *Sacr.Greg.*, nos. 1806-10, and Barre and Deshusses, 'A la recherche'. Specimens in contemporary sacramentaries of Anglo-Saxon origin or provenance include *Leofr.Miss.*, p. 176, *Miss.NMin.*, p. 207, *Miss.RJum.*, p. 241, *Miss.StAug.*, pp. 131-2, and *Winch.Sacr.*, nos. 1507, 1536 and 1565.

51 *de quacumque necessitate euenerit* As part of a tendency to downplay the royalism of the *Concordia* (see above, pp. 43-9), s lfric has dropped the intention *pro rege* from the daily matutinal mass (cf. RC 25: '*pro rege uel quacumque imminente necessitate*'). A lfric's silence on the point is all the more striking, since the votive *missa cotidiana pro rege* (see *Sacr.Greg.* {*Supplementum Anianensel*}, nos. 1270-2) remained a fixture in late Anglo-Saxon sacramentaries: e.g., *Leofr.Miss.*, pp. 179-80, *Miss.RJum.*, p. 249, *Miss.- StAug.*, p. 141, and *Winch.Sacr.*, nos. 1526, 1554 and 1588. See also Roper, pp.

IV The daily horarium a Kalendis Octobris, resumed (LME 11-12)

LME 11 Votive masses of the day, Friday and Saturday; cf. RC 31

52 de sancta cruce ... de sancta Maria These votive masses (Sacr.Greg., nos. 1835-40 and 1841-6), associated with Alcuin's circle in the eighth century (Barre and Deshusses, 'A la recherche'), came to be assigned to Friday and Saturday early in the ninth century on the Continent. They are, not surprisingly, a fixture in late Anglo-Saxon sacramentaries, although the date of their introduction into the English church remains disputed: specimens survive in Corp.41, p. 102 (incomplete), Leofr.Miss., p. 178, Miss.NMin., pp. 212-13 (incomplete), Miss.RJum., pp. 244-6 (with two Saturday masses for the Virgin), and Miss.StAug., pp. 135-7. Curiously, Winch.Sacr. has the votive mass of the Virgin (nos. 1508, 1537 and 1567) but not that of the Holy Cross, and resembles the Sacramentary of Fulda in this regard (Barre and Deshusses, 'A la recherche', p. 24; cf. Davril's introduction to Winch.Sacr., pp. 19-20). On the votive masses among the Anglo-Saxons, see also Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 62-3. Roper (pp. 42-3 and 208 (Table 2:6)) claims that the Concordia is innovative in designating these specifically as the principal masses on these days.

LME 12 Special antiphons after Lauds and Vespers; cf. RC 21, 34 and 42

53 de sancta truce ... et de sancto cuius reliquie ibi habentur Again z lfric has brought together points scattered in the source (RC 21 and 34), but neither the Concordia nor the LME describes in detail these special votive antiphons. The basic elements of each were probably an antiphon, versicle and collect; examples of Marian suffrages from the tenth-century 'Durham Collectar' (Durham, Cathedral Library, A. iv. 19) are printed by Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 63-5. Tolhurst (pp. 101-2 and 121) identifies as a further development of this devotion a full set of Offices of the Virgin (followed by a set for, among others, the Holy Cross) found in the miscellany London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi " "I). The form and later development of these special votive antiphons are fully discussed by Roper, pp. 139-44. Unfortunately YElfric does not identify the saint whose relics are kept ('cuius reliquie habentur') at Eynsham, and no other source supplies this detail. This is just one of a number of points at which 11fric declines to adapt his text to local

circumstances, retaining instead the blank formula of the source; cf. commentary to LME 25 (at n. 98) and 68 (at n. 313), below.

5' usgue Aduentum Domini These votive antiphons after Lauds and Vespers were omitted during Advent (likewise at RC 42), but resumed thereafter.

55 Vigilia quoque pro defunctis, etc. This point is relevant not to the votive antiphons, but only to the mention of Vespers itself. Vigils of the Dead, a devotional Office of one to three Nocturns, was said after Vespers during the summer period (until 1 November); the Office of the Dead also included Lauds and Vespers (see Tolhurst, pp. 107-13; T. Symons, 'Monastic Observance in the Tenth Century: I. The Offices of All Saints and of the Dead', DR 50 (1932), 449-64 and 51 (1933), 137-52; Roper, pp. 58-64 and 215 (Table 3:4); and K. Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, 1993)). The point has apparently found its way into the LME here under the influence of RC 34, where the votive antiphons are prescribed separately, each in the context of a much fuller description of the liturgical hour it follows. eElfric's habit of extracting and regrouping provisions found scattered in the source occasionally produces this kind of non sequitur; cf. comments above at on. 17 and 37.

V The full winter horarium (LME 13-15)

LME 13 The winter ordo hyrnnorum; cf. RC 39

56 A Calendis Nouembris, etc. Building on the autumnal or transitional order instituted a Kalendis Octobris (see LME 2), additional changes from 1 November mark the transition to the full winter horarium.

57 dominica uespera I.e., first Vespers of Sunday. Sundays (and major feasts) have two Offices of Vespers, one on the preceding Saturday evening (first Vespers) and another on Sunday itself (second Vespers). The outline of hymns that follows respects an organization commonly used in medieval hymnal manuscripts, beginning with the *ordinarium de tempore* (regular Sundays and weekdays) then advancing through the *proprium de tempore* (hymns proper to seasons and some feasts in the *Temporale*); see Milfull, p. 24.

58 canatur hymnus, etc. This section contains some of eElfric's most substantial and important additions to the *Concordia*; for an evaluation of the liturgical evidence, see Symons, 'Sources', pp.

151-4. In LME 13 Ielfric describes the hymns of the winter period (1 November through Passiontide); the hymns of Paschaltide and the summer period will be taken up later at LME 50 and 54. Though Ielfric provides only incipits of hymns, his expanded outline of the monastic hymnal serves as an important witness to the 'Winchester-Worcester type' of the so-called New Hymnal, as classified in Helmut Gneuss's important study (*Hymnar*, pp. 70-4 and 119-20; see esp. *Tabelle II*, pp. 60-8). The New Hymnal appears not to have reached England until the 'Benedictine revival' of the mid-tenth century, during which the variety of continental influences within the movement produced different forms of the hymnal at Winchester (spreading thence to Worcester) and Christ Church, Canterbury. According to Gneuss, the New Hymnal itself originated in the early ninth century in Frankish territory, possibly under the aegis of reforms associated with Benedict of Aniane. On this theory see, in addition to *Hymnar*, ch. 3, Gneuss's 'Latin Hymns in Medieval England', pp. 411-12; for a slight modification of Gneuss's hypothesis, see D. A. Bullough, with A. Harting-Correa, 'Texts, Chant, and the Chapel of Louis the Pious', rev. and repr. in *Carolingian Renewal*, pp. 241-71.

No definitive, critical edition of the medieval Latin hymns exists. Hallinger's apparatus to the *Concordia* and LME provide only references to J. Mearns's inventory, *Early Latin Hymnaries: An Index of Hymns in Hymnaries before 1100* (Cambridge, 1913). Anglo-Saxonists, however, are now well served by Milfull's *Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, which includes not only an edition of the hymnal with Old English gloss in Durham, Cathedral Library B. iii. 32, Ir-43r, collated against all other surviving Anglo-Saxon hymnals (including the prose versions of the *Expositio hymnorum* extant in two manuscripts), but also editions of most other hymns in use in Anglo-Saxon England but not contained in the 'Durham Hymnal' (her nos. 134-62). After her critical edition of each hymn, Milfull includes a literal prose translation of the Latin, notes on liturgical use, bibliographical references and further textual and interpretative commentary. In the present discussion of hymns that s Ielfric lists in LME 13, then again in LME 50 and 54, the reader is referred to editions in AH, then to Milfull (cited by numbers assigned in her edition, which in turn follow the numbering of items in the New Hymnal used in Gneuss's *Hymnar*, pp. 60-8).

59 '0 lux beata' . . . 'Christe qui lux es' ... 'Primo dierum' ... 'Aeterne rerum' . . . 'Lucis creator' AH LI, 38, 21 and 24; L, 11; and LI, 34; Milfull, nos. 1, 12, 3, 4 and 13. RC 39 stipulates the Sunday hymns '0 lux beata' (first Vespers), 'Christe qui lux es' (Compline), 'Primo

dierum' (Nocturns) and 'Aeterne return' (Lauds), followed by only vague references to the ferial and proper hymns- On the allocation of these hymns to the winter season, see Milfull, p. 24.

60 'Jam lucis arts iidere' ... 'Nunc sancte nohis Spiritus' ... 'Rector potens' ... 'Return Dem' AH LI, 40 and L, 19-20; Milfull, nos. 7-10. The hymns at the little hours were invariable throughout the year, save in Lent (see below, n. 70). They are not mentioned in the Concordia.

'Conelitor abne siderum' ... 'Verbtrm supernum' ... 'Vox claaa' AH LI, 46 and 48; Milfull, nos. 32-4.

62 'Christe redemptor omnium' ... 'A Patre rnnigenitus' . . . 'A solis ortus cardine' usage 'Hostis Herodes' AH LI, 49; XXVII, 66; and L, 58; Milfull, nos. 36, 46 and 44. According to Gneuss (Hymnar, pp. 11920) and Milfull (p. 193) 'Christe redemptor' is the expected choice for monastic first Vespers of Christmas. But in his employment of the latter two hymns, lfric departs not just from Winchester-Worcester usage but from every extant Anglo-Saxon monastic hymnal (see the following note). The assignment of 'A Patre unigenitus' to Nocturns appears to be unique to the LME. Winchester usage seems normally to have assigned this hymn to Nocturns of Epiphany; hymnals of the 'Canterbury type' also used it at Epiphany, though not at Nocturns (Milfull, p. 221). In the Canterbury hymnal, 'A Solis ortus cardine' was sung at Nocturns of Epiphany, but in Winchester-Worcester usage this hymn was ordinarily assigned to Lauds of Candlemas (2 February) - and indeed 'Elfric will re-use the hymn on that occasion as well (see below, n. 65). Of witnesses nearly contemporary with the LME, only the secular Office hymnal preserved in Leofr.Coll. assigns 'A solis ortus' to Christmas, though to first Vespers and not, as :Elfric, to Lauds (Milfull, p. 215). Vespers of Christmas is the position that became standard in England in the later Middle Ages (Hymnar, p. 1 19). , lfric's reference 'usque "Hostis Herodes"' simply indicates that the hymn 'A solis ortus' is in fact the first seven stanzas of a longer abecedarian poem by Caelius Sedulius (fl. 450). Stanzas 8 (beginning 'Hostis Herodes impie') through 13 were taken as a separate hymn, assigned by the LME and extant hymnals to Epiphany (see below, n. 64).

quia 'Veni redemptor' et 'Audi redemptor' non uidentur sapientibus honeste esse composites Winchester usage and the secular Leofr.Coll. assign 'Veni redemptor' to Christmas Nocturns; its assignation in books of the Canterbury group cannot be determined (Milfull, p. 202 (no. 39)). Apart from fElfric's teaching here, monastic usage

unanimously assigns 'Audi redemptor' to Lauds of Christmas, while the secular *Leofr.Coll.* appears to have divided the hymn over Nocturns and Lauds on the Octave of Christmas (1 January) rather than on Christmas itself (Milfull, p. 199 (no. 38)). Though *ƿelfric's* departure from the norm - his rejection of 'Veni redemptor' (an authentic Ambrosian hymn) and 'Audi redemptor' from the Offices of Christmas - is quite clear, his reasons for doing so are not. He does not identify the *sapientes* whose judgement he is citing, and the phrase *honeste ... compositor* is ambiguous. This cryptic statement in the LME has never been satisfactorily explained. Symons ('Sources', p. 153, n. 1) relays a suggestion that *A31fric* might have flinched at the fourth (originally fifth) stanza of 'Veni redemptor'. 'Procedens [var. -at] de thalamo sue, / pudoris aula regia, / gemine gigas substantix, / alacris ut currat uiam' (Milfull, no. 39, lines 13-16; she translates (p. 202) 'who comes out of his wedding chamber, out of the royal court of modesty, as a giant of twofold nature in order to run his race joyfully'). The reference to Christ as *gigas* is supported by an allegorical reading of Ps. XVIII.6: 'He hath set his tabernacle in the sun: and he, as a bridegroom coming out of his bride chamber, hath rejoiced as a giant to run the way.' But to scrupulous minds the metaphor might also raise the spectre of the evil race of giants who lived before the flood (Gen. VIA-7). Ambrose's reference to a 'giant of twofold nature' looks to both the psalm verse and Genesis but ignores the inappropriate context of the latter, concentrating instead on the statement that the antediluvian giants were the offspring of 'the sons of God' and 'the daughters of men' (Gen. VI.4) - hence Ambrose's allegorical play on *gemina substantia* (see *Early Latin Hymns, with Introduction and Notes*, ed. A. S. Walpole (Cambridge, 1922), p. 54, n. 19). In any case, the exegetical, literary and popular associations of 'giants' often contaminated one another in early medieval tradition, not least among Anglo-Saxon authors and the sources known to them; see P.J. Frankis, 'The Thematic Significance of *enta geweorc* and Related Imagery in *The Wanderer*', ASE 2 (1973), 253-69, at pp. 258-9.

Against this suggestion offered by Symons, one might imagine *IElfric* scrupling about 'giants' in a homiletic context *coram populo*, but the LME is written for an audience that should catch the echo of Ps. XVIII. And even if the speculation in Symons's note is correct, it does not account for *Elfric's* rejection of the other hymn, 'Audi redemptor'. As I have translated the key phrase of his criticism ('to the experts ... do not seem worthily composed'), the comment implies that certain authorities whom *IElfric* respects have found technical faults in these hymns. Ambrose was certainly the first

master of the four-line iambic dimetre hymn stanza, but his 'Veni redemptor' employs a relatively (though not absolutely) high number of metrical variations which, although allowable in quantitative metre, might have seemed clumsy to those who did not understand the verse form, or might have made some lines of the hymn difficult to sing in the same measure as the others. In the verse about the gigas quoted above, for example, in the first foot an anapest (geminae) is substituted for the iamb (or its more common alternative, the spondee); in his *De arte metrica*, Bede even cites this line as an example of variation in iambic tetrameter (*De arte metrica et De schematibus et tropis*, ed. C. B. Kendall, with M. H. King, in *Beda Venerabilis Opera*, Pars VI: *Opera Didascalica* 1, CCSL 123A (Turnhout, 1975), 136, lines 19-23). Moreover, Ambrose has already used this fairly uncommon effect just two lines previously, in the first line of the same stanza (*thalamo*, third foot). The anonymous and presumably later hymn 'Audi redemptor', on the other hand, is metrically troubled and reads smoothly neither as quantitative nor as accentual verse (though its basis is 'rhythmical Ambrosian hymn verse (4 x 8pp)' according to Milfull, p. 199). Most noticeably, the first feet of the first and third lines of stanza four clash with the prevailing rhythm of the hymn: 'Genitum deum ex deo / miramur in hoc corpore, / hominem deo similem, / mysterium mirabile' (Milfull, no. 38, lines 13-16). While sung performance might level word accents normally used when reading, the first and third lines do tend towards falling rhythm in their first two feet, while a rising rhythm is the norm everywhere else. On the transition from quantitative to accentual verse in hymns, of which the present stanza seems a stark example, see D. Norberg, *Les Vers latins iambigres et trochaïques au Moyen Âge et leurs répliques rythmiques*, *Filologiskt arkiv* 35 (Stockholm, 1988), 17-41. Clearly Ælfric had no prejudice against accentual hymns as such; he prescribes perfect specimens of the type for, among others, the daily Offices of Terce through None in Lent (see below, n. 70). His rejection of 'Veni redemptor' and 'Audi redemptor' may simply reflect an informed awareness of their metrical idiosyncrasies. In any case, 'A Solis ortus' did eventually replace the latter at Christmas, and further study may yet provide an explanation for this change and so shed further light on what Ælfric means by *non honeste compositos*.

'Hostis Herodes impie' ... 'A Patre unigenitus' ... 'Iesus refulsit omnium' AH L, 58; XXVII, 66; and LI, 51; Milfull, nos. 45, 46 and 43. Unanimously assigned to Epiphany, there is nevertheless much disagreement between the Winchester-Worcester and Canterbury

types over which of these hymns goes with which Office. The Canterbury hymnal assigns 'Hostis Herodes' to Lauds and 'Iesus refulsit' to Vespers; it assigns 'A Patre unigenitus' to no definite Office. The Winchester-Worcester hymnal, which j lfric appears to follow, assigns 'Hostis Herodes' to Vespers, 'A Patre unigenitus' to Nocturns and 'Iesus refulsit' to Lauds (Milfull, pp. 212, 219 and 221).

65 'Quad chorus uatum'... 'Quern terra' ... 'A solis ortus' All L, 206, 86 and 58; Milfull, nos. 47, 65, and 44. These are the only proper hymns from the Sanctorale included by Ailfric. His usage represents the Winchester-Worcester hymnal, which agrees with the Canterbury type only in the assignment of 'Quod chorus uatum' to Vespers; for 'Quem terra' and 'A solis ortus' in the Canterbury hymnal, cf. Milfull, pp. 268 and 215.

66 'Alleluia dulce carmen' ... 'Alleluia piis edite laudibus' ... 'Almum sideree iam patrie decus' Aft LI, 52 and XXVII, 74-5; Milfull, nos. 48-50. The latter two (for Nocturns and Lauds) are actually two divisions of a single hymn (Milfull, p. 228). The Winchester-Worcester and Canterbury traditions agree here.

67 'Audi benign conditor' ... 'Clarum decus ieiunii'... 'Iesu quadragenarie' AH LI, 53 and 57-8; Milfull, nos. 55, 58 and 57. The Winchester-Worcester hymnal assigns these hymns to Vespers, Nocturns and Lauds, respectively, on weekdays in Lent. Their precise distribution in the Canterbury hymnal is uncertain; see Milfull, pp. 240, 248 and 246, respectively, and Hymnar, p. 240.

68 per quattuor ebdomadas continue That is, from the Sunday after Ash Wednesday until Passion Sunday (two Sundays before Easter).

e9 'Vexilla regis'... 'Arbor decora'... 'Auctor salutis' AH L, 74 and LI, 70; Milfull, nos. 671, 67, and 68. The poem *Vexilla regis* by Venantius Fortunatus (fl. 575) was divided into two separate four-stanza hymns for Vespers and Nocturns from Passion Sunday until Maundy Thursday. This distribution was a feature of the Winchester-Worcester hymnal, and perhaps in the Canterbury hymnal and the secular Leofr.Coll. too; see Milfull, p. 275, and Hymnar, note to p. 351. Likewise 'Auctor salutis' was probably sung at Lauds in both the Winchester-Worcester and Canterbury traditions (Milfull, p. 280).

70 'Dei fide qua uiuimus'... 'Meridie orandum est'... 'Perfecto trino numero' AH LI, 64-5 and 16; Milfull, nos. 51-3. These seasonal hymns for the little hours on Lenten ferias are one exception to the general rule imposed at LME 13 (see comments above, at n. 60).

They occur thus placed in hymnals of both the Winchester-Worcester and Canterbury traditions, the only difference being that the former used these seasonal hymns only on the weekdays of Lent, while the latter used them on Sundays as well (Milfull, pp. 232 and 234-5). The ferial hymn for Prime, 'Iam lucis orto sidere', would remain unchanged through the year, including Lent.

LME 14 Fire in winter; cf. RC 40

't in domo This provision refers to the periods designated for lectio and work. The source speaks of a 'locus aptus fratribus' and uses the term domus three times (RC 40; cf. trans. RC (Symons) 29, p. 26: 'a suitable room shall be set aside for the brethren ... the special room of which we have spoken ... the aforesaid building'). The domus must have been an all-purpose building and shelter that served the same function as the cloister and was distinct from the other buildings mentioned, e.g., the church, refectory, dormitory, Chapter house and auditorium; see Spurrell, 'Architectural Interest', pp. 163-4.

LME 15 The potus after None; cf. RC 43

72 festiuitate sancti Martini 11 November.

non bibantfratres iElfric does not use the technical term potus for the refreshment (cf. RC 43: 'non sequitur potus'). This drink was allowed on Sundays and major feasts, as well as on ferias of the summer period (until 14 September); see RC (Symons) 30, p. 27, n. 3.

VI Proper customs: Advent through Candlemas (LME 16-25)

LME 16 Advent; cf. RC 44

Ta non canant 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' The provision applies to mass, not the Office. Though not found in the Concordia, this instruction was very likely taken for granted in /Ethelwold's customary. The provision does occur in DEC 1, where it may reflect the influence of Amalarius, Lib.off. III.xl.9-10, which is quoted in IBA 1.

75 nec ... mittant pinguedinem Clarified by RC 44: 'pinguedo interdicitur, scilicet lardi' and translation at RC (Symons) 30, p. 27 and n. 6.

LME 17 Chapter, Christmas Eve; cf. RC 45

76 recitetur in capitals The martyrology reading at Chapter always announces the celebrations to be observed on the following day - in the present instance Christmas Day. On the use of the martyrology in monastic Chapter, see the introduction to *Dar altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. G. Kotzor, 2 vols., Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge 88/1-2 (Munich, 1980)1, 235*-239*.

77 propter . . . descendit This atypically florid passage is a verbatim quotation from RC 45.

LME 18 The Offices of Christmas; cf. RC 46

7s antiphone ... de ipsa completion temporis The phrase 'fullness of time' (from RC 46) refers to the theme of the antiphons for Christmas Vespers. As Hallinger's apparatus to the *Concordia* notes (following RC (Symons) p. 28, n. 3), ancient antiphoners present diverse series of antiphons, but the series preserved in *Worc.Ant.*, pp. 26-7, seems to fit the theme well. These are: 'Rex pacificus', 'Scitote', 'Completi sunt' and 'Ecce completa sunt' (CAO II, series 17b and 18).

79 in quarto responsorio Because Christmas should be a feast of twelve lessons and twelve responsories (i.e., its Night Office has three Nocturns with four lessons and four responsories each), it is not certain whether the instruction applies to the fourth responsory in each of the three Nocturns or only in the third. The source (RC 46), here quoted verbatim, does not clarify the point.

so post euuangelium That is, the gospel of the day, read after the last responsory of the final Nocturn on Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons. Though iElfric does not mention it, the gospel would be preceded by the hymn 'Te Deum laudamus', as is made clear at RC 46.

si missa de nocte A third proper mass in nocte was added on Christmas, to be celebrated between Nocturns and Lauds (RC 46 also indicates that all the bells shall be rung before this mass). The rubrics of the sacramentary assigned the next mass to dawn (LME 18 in *lucis crepusculo*'), hence the extraordinary celebration (in effect) of a matutinal mass before Prime on this day; see Hughes, § 117.

LME 19 Special confession at Chapter; cf. RC 47

s2 'Misereatur' Incipit of the formula for general absolution: 'Misereatur uestri omnipo- tens Deus, et dimissis peccatis uestris,

perducatur uos ad uitam aeternam' ('May Almighty God have mercy on you and, forgiving your sins, lead you to everlasting life'). The brothers addressing the abbot in turn would substitute singular *tui* ... *tuis* ... to fit the same formula. Note that this ceremony is not the same as the usual confession of faults in Chapter (described at RC 26, but not by Ælfric).

LME 20 Further instructions, Christmas Day; cf. RC 48

113 *ornati ad tertiam* In other words, the ministers of the principal mass would not have time to vest between Terce and mass, and they must not slip away to do so during the Office itself.

14 *'Tecum principium'* et reliquae Probably the same series found in the thirteenth-century *Worc.Ant.* for second Vespers: *'Tecum principium'*, *'Redemptionem'*, *'Exortum est'* and *'Apud Dominum'* (CAO II, series 19d); see RC (Symons), p. 29, n. 10, and Hallinger's apparatus to RC 48, 99.16.

LME 21 Feasts during the Octave of Christmas; cf. RC 49

ss *Reliquis uero ... competentibus* Ælfric (following RC 49) means the three days immediately after Christmas, i.e., the feasts of St Stephen (26 December), St John the Evangelist (27 December) and the Holy Innocents (28 December). Vespers of these important feasts had proper antiphons (see, e.g., CAO II, series 20c, 21d and 22d) but, as Ælfric indicates, retained the psalmody of second Vespers of Christmas (Pss. CIX- CXI and CXXIX); see Tolhurst, p. 154; Hughes, §§ 427-8. In his supplement on the readings and responsories for the Night Office, Ælfric will refer to the Octaves of these days; see LME 77 and accompanying commentary.

LME 22 The Octave of Christmas: further customs; cf. RC 50; Lib. off. I.xli.2

16 *ad nocturnam ... pulsantur* Almost verbatim from RC 50, but omitting the source's claim that this is a specifically English custom (*'sicut in usum huius patriae indigenae tenent'*); discussed by Symons, 'Sources', pp. 145-6. Only later (at LME 58) will Ælfric allude to the native character of this custom. Note that here he retains the phrase *uti ad missam* even though he earlier omitted the reference to bell-ringing at the *missa in nocte* (see above, n. 81).

Cerei ... deportetur As at RC 50, the festal trappings (candles, incense and the ringing of the bells) are retained during the last three days of

the Octave even though the Night Office reverts to its ferial form, implied by the absence of the gospel reading and hymn 'Te Deum' after the last Nocturn (see Symons, 'Sources', p. 145). The coordination of these practices is clearer in the Concordia, and LME 22 obscures their syntactic correlation ('licet ... tamen'). The change by someone (not necessarily IElfric) of concessive tamen to coordinating etiam urges that the licet-clause be construed with the preceding direction about bell-ringing, and that 'Cerei etiam ...' begin a new sentence, even though reference to the 'Te Deum' and gospel naturally belongs with the bells and incense, while the aforementioned bell-ringing takes place on some but not all feasts of twelve lessons.

88 non canitur 'Gloria in excelsis Des'. .. necem crudelem Probably from Amalarius, Lib.off. I.xli.2:

Praetitulatur in antiphonario sic: "Gloria in excelsis Deo" non cantatur, nec alleluia, sed quasi in tristitia deducitur dies ille.' Compositor officii praesentis coniungi nos uult animis deuotarum feminarum, quae in morte innocentum doluerunt et planxerunt. Sicut separat nos ab actu malorum Iudaeorum in caena Domini siue in parascheue siue in sabbato amittendo oscula siue cetera sueta, ita coniungit in praesenti festiuitate dolori deuotarum feminarum. Causa earum tristitiae amittimus: 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' et alleluia.

On IElfric's knowledge and use of the Liber officialis, see the introduction, above, pp. 59-68. In RI(Sa), the version of the Retractatio printer closest to /Elfric's lost exemplar of Amalarius's work, the section on the Holy Innocents follows that on Christmas, as in the liturgical calendar (and unlike in other copies of the R1 or in Amalarius's original). YElfric had already treated the relevant gospel pericope (Mart. II.13-18) in CH I.v (ed. Thorpe 1, 76-90), and some of the adaptations in the present Amalarian passage appear indebted to Tlfric's reminiscence of the biblical and exegetical tradition (e.g., ntatruw replacing fenunarunr; cf. Matt. II.18 and jet. XXXI.I 5). On the homiletic sources, see Cross, 'f\$Iftric - Mainly on Memory', p. 139, and now J. Hill, 'Allfric's Homily on the Holy Innocents: the Sources Reviewed', in Alfred the Wise: Stucker in Honour of Janet Batley on the Oaasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. J. Roberts and J. L. Nelson, with M. Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 89-98. fElfric's suppression of Amalarius's iornpositor offiii rids the text of a cumbersome reference and allows amplification of the liturgy as a direct moral and typological response to biblical events; see above, pp. 67-8, and also commentary to LME 24 (at n. 93), 25 (at n. 103), 26 (at n. 106), i2

LME 23 Resumption of the regular winter horarium; cf. RC 53 and 51

s" Ab Oetauis ... agatur obedientia These provisions mark the end of the festal customs described in LME 20-2 (Christmas and its Octave). Work (obedientia) is now resumed, while the festal 'Gloria in excelsis' is dropped from the mass and the bells are no longer rung at Nocturns, mass and Vespers. XElfric's decision to insert the customs of RC 53 (the ferial order port 0,tauas Dontini) before those of RC 51 (ferial psalms and antiphons at Vespers) allows a more orderly progression of topics than in the source. One of the two manuscripts of the Concordia (Cotton Tiberius A. iii) also states that during the period after the Octave of Christmas, and then again from the second day in the Octave of Epiphany, the matutinal mass shall be celebrated after Prime. But this contradicts the order laid down in RC 24-5 and LME 2, and neither ,Elfric nor the other manuscript of the source (Cotton Faustina B. iii) includes such a provision; see RC (Kornexl), pp. 264-5 (commentary to line 733).

`O cunt antiphon ... psabni feriales The manuscript reads singular antiphon (unabbreviated). Although the singing of the four psalms under a single antiphon was not unknown (Tolhurst, p. 153; Harper, Forms and Orders, p. 101), the more common form of monastic Vespers had one antiphon per psalm. Symons accordingly expands antipts at RC (Ti) 51, corresponding to the present instance in LASE 23, as antiphons; see RC (Symons) 32, p. 30, and likewise RC (Kornexl) 32.728. The Old English glossator in RC (Ti) may have taken the abbreviated Latin form as singular, but the ending of his mid antefnan could also represent a reduction of dative plural -mn; see RC (Kornexl), p. 264 (commentary to line 728). The ambiguous Old English gloss does not rule out the possibility that singular antiphona was the intended reading of LME 23, and possibly a textual variant transmitted in fElfric's exemplar of the Concordia.

LME 24 Epiphany; cf. RC 52; Lib.off. IV.xxxiii.1 and IV.xliv.1

91 non teneatur ieunium Fasting was otherwise a normal requirement on the vigils of major feasts; see ODCC, s.v. 'vigil'.

92 psalmos ... eadem sollempnitate In other words, at first Vespers the psalmody shall be that of the day in the week, but with antiphons proper to Epiphany (e.g., CAO II, series 24c).

Unum amittimus in teophania ex his quae caelebramus in natiuitate Domini, id est inuitatorium ... Igitur quia uoluit [scil. compositor officii] in ism distinguere nostram bonam inuirationem, qua inuitantur et excitantur fideles ad Deum deprecandum, ab inuitatione Herodis, qui propterea congregauit scribas et principes Iudaeorum, ut sciret ubi Christus nasceretur, quern cogitabat interficere, inuitatorium praesentis officii amisit.

In R1(Sa) this section, like that on the Holy Innocents, occurs in its calendrically correct place but is otherwise the same as in other copies of RI. 'Elfric appears to have restored the Vulgate reading sacerdotum (Matt. 11.4) for Amalarius's Iudaeorum. The influence of scripture may also explain the added prepositional phrase ab eis (cf. Matt. II.4: 'sciscitabatur ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur'), also found at IBA 4. 'Elfric's tendency to 'correct' Amalarius's paraphrases with the actual words of scripture emerges as a consistent principle in his adaptations from the Liber officialis. On i lfric's 'biblicizing' urge in other contexts, see Cross, 'The Literate Anglo-Saxon', pp. 89-93. Note also the omission, once again, of Amalarius's compositor officii, so that the present liturgy more easily seems the monks' immediate response to events of Epiphany, and not merely the contrivance of some anonymous human agent; cf. commentary to LME 22 (at n. 88), 25 (at n. 103), 26 (at n. 106), 32 (at n. 168), 33 (at n. 171), 39 (at n. 204) and 43 (at n. 219).

Solent musitare cantores de psalmo 'Deus noster refugium', quare praepostero ordine ponatur in tertio periocha. De qua re ita dicimus, sequentes ordinem euangelii: prius uenerunt magi adorare Dominum, quam baptizatus esset. Magi ... uenerunt primo adorare Dominum, et postea baptizatus est ipse. Et apostoli atque ipsi baptizauerunt, quorum officium perspicue dilucidatur, et praecipue in antiphona 'Fluminis impetus', quae cantatur in tertia nocturna.

Amalarius's discussion here pertains to the Night Office for Epiphany, but in its secular form - i.e., a service of nine lessons (three Nocturns, each with three psalms, three antiphons and three readings). He argues that two of the nine antiphons, because they recall events in the life of Christ, should follow the sequence of those events as found in the gospels. According to the Roman Office

and the numerical order of the psalter, Ps. XCIV (normally the invitatory, but this was omitted on Epiphany; see above, n. 93) and its antiphon ('Venite adoremus eum, quia ipse est Dominus Deus noster') should occupy the seventh place - i.e., the first antiphon and psalm of the third Nocturn, while Ps. XLV ('Deus noster refugium') and its antiphon ('Fluminis impetus laetificat, Alleluia, ciuitatem Dei, Alleluia') should fall second in the first Nocturn. The change proposed by Amalarius shifts Ps. XLV to seventh place and Ps. XCIV to sixth, because the antiphon of the latter ('Venite adoremus') recalls the adoration of the Magi, while that of the former ('Fluminis impetus') suggests Christ's baptism, as well as the baptisms performed in the apostolic era. Amalarius treats this point more fully, and with some variation, in his later work, the *Liber de Ordine antiphonarum* XXI.2, 6 and 14 (AEOL 111, 57-9, and table, p. 165).

Amalarius compiled his on antiphoner after his journey to Rome (831) and to Corbic. Though this work does not survive, the arrangement *praepratero ordine* here described does occur in three of the secular Office antiphoners collated in CAO I, series 24b (the Compiègne, Gallicanus and Monza antiphoners). Amalarius's practice appears to rest on ancient (though probably not Roman) authorities. Ælfric's matter-of-fact citation of Amalarius on this point suggests that the LAIE is vindicating a practice already familiar in English reformed monastic circles rather than attempting to introduce a new custom. The firm of the secular Office assumed by Amalarius, however, need not have replaced the monastic one at Epiphany, as was usual on other important occasions in the liturgical year - i.e., during the Triduum and the Octave of Easter, and at Nocturns of Pentecost (thus LMIE ii, 15, 46, 47-8 and 52, all prescribed by the Concordia; see Hallinger's apparatus to 2C 61 and Tolhurst, pp. 206-7). Instead, Ælfric's antiphoner very likely tailored the arrangement *praepostero ordine* to a monastic Office of twelve lessons: Pss. XCIV and XLV and their antiphons could still occupy the sixth and seventh places, respectively, but as the end of the first Nocturn and beginning of the second (see CAO II, series 24b). Won-Ant., however, does not record the antiphons *praepostero ordine*, although their written order could, perhaps, have been altered in actual performance.

A monastic rather than secular version of *hvae/m.nero ordine* would also account for other of Ælfric's omissions from *Lih.off.* IV.xliv.I (quoted above). Because the third Nocturn of the monastic Office consists of three canticles sung under a single antiphon,

Amalarius's references to 'tertio periocha' and 'tertia nocturna' would be inappropriate; Tlfric prunes them away, and so must dispense with Amalarius's other arguments wherever these depend on the singing of 'Fluminis impetus' in the third Nocturn and 'Venice adoremus cum' in the second, as at Li/co/f. IVxliv.2:

Satis apertum est . . . nouum testamentum recoli in tertia nocturna, pracedentibus duabus nocturnis, quae habent in se memoriam sanctorum patrum qui fuerunt in ueteri testamento repleti Spiritu Sancto, slue de circumcisis, sine de gentilibus. Sequitur tertia no(turna cum antiphonis quae habent alleluia solito more, et perspicue demonstrant nouum testamentum, et baptismi sacramenta recolunt.

(Cf. Amalarius, *Lifter de ordine de antiphonarii* XXI.7- 12). Without the linking reference to the third Nocturn as the New Testament, Tlfric has also dropped the complicating mention of the apostles' celebration of baptism from Lih.o/f. I.xliv. 1.

LAIR 25 Customs for Candlemas; cf. RC 54; Lib.off. IV.xxxiii.18

95 In Ptmri/iratione, etc. Elaborate customs grew up around this feast (2 February), also known as Candlemas, commemorating Mary's ritual Purification and the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple forty days after his birth. While most medieval ordines for the day agree in their main points (a procession, blessing and distribution of candles, proper antiphons), there can be significant differences in detail. Not surprisingly, IElfric's provisions for the ceremonies follow those of RC 54, which differ from continental usages in some important respects (Symons, 'Sources', pp. 154-5). Special customs of Candlemas are also mentioned in IElfric's homily for the same occasion (CH Lix, ed. Thorpe I, 134-50, at p. 150), as well as in his second Old English pastoral letter to Archbishop Wulfstan (Brief 111.178).

16 audito sign ad tertiam As at LME 2, i lfric means the summoning bell before this Office. Terce itself will not actually take place until after the procession and blessing of candles.

97 si aura sic permiserit The placement of the phrase (adapted from RC 54) suggests a misunderstanding of its meaning in the source, where the condition seems to refer only to the wearing of albs. IElfric's rewritten version implies that the holding of the procession itself is contingent on good weather (see also below, at n. 159).

98 Sancti cui . . . dedicata est IElfric's adherence to the source (RC 54) here, and the similar instructions for the Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday processions (at LME 29 and 32, respectively), suggest that a procession to some other church actually did take place. One might imagine a simple procession to a side chapel within the monastic church (Spurrell, 'Architectural Interest', p. 167), although in that case the qualifying 'si aura sic permiserit' makes little sense (but see preceding note). If iElfric's customary was written specifically for the monks at Eynsham, why did he not customize the document in such particulars as naming the church, chapel or altar to which the monks would process? That he did not suggests either a very mechanical method of using a source or, perhaps, his foreknowledge that the text would be read and used beyond the walls of Eynsham. Cf. the blank formulas similarly taken over at LME 12 (see above, n. 53) and 68 (see below, n. 313).

99 reuertentes uero ... cantando Neither YElfric nor the source specifies which antiphons are to be sung or prayers to be said (cf. RC 54), and contemporary witnesses vary: see RC (Symons), p. 31, no. 3-4; Hallinger, apparatus to RC 54, 101.8; also contemporary ordines in Cant.Ben., pp. 80-4, Miss.NMin., pp. 69-72, and Miss.RJum., pp. 158-60 (incomplete).

100 'Responsum accepit Symeon' AMS, no. 29b (from Luke 11.26).

101 'Erudi quaesumus Domine' Sacr.Greg., no. 123. The saying of this collect ad ostium appears to be peculiar to the Concordia and IElfric (Symons, 'Sources', pp. 154-5); cf. Cant.Ben., p. 84, and Miss.NMin., p. 71, where 'Erudi' comes after the monks' entry into the church.

102 'Cum inducerent' cum dominica oratione For the text of this chant (either an antiphon or the verse of the responsory 'Responsum'), see Cant.Ben., p. 84, and the ultimate source, Luke 11.27. Miss.NMin. (p. 71) also adds a 'Kyrie' and further antiphons to the Virgin.

0j hoc significante . . . lux mundi Adapted from Amalarius, Lib.off. IV.xxxiii.18 (significant variants from RI are given in square brackets; on the significance of this recension, see above, pp. 62-5): '[Oportet nos RI) cereos accensos manibus portare in ypopanti, quod est in praesentatione sui unumquemque [sanctum significat RI} habere opera sua, in quibus clarus et lucidus appareat in coetu sanctorum angelorum ...]' fklfric here explains the significance of the candles distributed to the community - and to the congregation, if one were present in the Eynsham church. Note IElfric's typical substitution of the more common Latin name Purificatio for

Amalarius's Greek Ypopanti [Sic]; cf. the similar preference for Epiphania over Theophania in LME 24. The purpose clause (ut ... appareat) effectively disposes of an awkward mixed construction (quad est . . . significat) with its dependent noun clause - a corruption apparently common to RI manuscripts and so probably in Ælfric's exemplar.

The subtle alteration of Amalarius's meaning also deserves attention. If the burning lights do represent the individual saints resplendent in their good deeds, the original reading in *praesentatione rui* would be preferable to Ælfric's in *Presentatione Domini, qui est lux munch*, which does not carry the symbolism through to its natural conclusion. The monks do, after all, 'present' their candles to the celebrant before the offertory, yet Ælfric turns away from this obvious and immediate sign of the individual Christian's self-presentation (at death or in the Last judgement), and towards an abstract reference to the Presentation of Christ as 'the light of the world' (cf. John VIII. 12 or IX.5). Prompts for this interpolation are not far to seek: the day's gospel and at least one of the processional antiphons quote the familiar words of Simeon, who calls the infant Jesus 'lumen ad reuelationem gentium' (Luke 11.32). Whatever inspired the alteration, Ælfric's paraphrase quietly blends the moral and allegorical significance of the candles, which consequently represent both Christ and the believer. The fusion of these two levels of meaning is also explicit in the antiphons, prayers and readings for Candelmas (e.g., in the mass collect: '... or, sicut unigenitus Filius tuus hodierna die ... in templo est praesentatus, ita nos facias purificatis tibi mentibus praesentari'). Ælfric may intend here as elsewhere to blur, for hortatory purposes, the distinction between present liturgical acts and the biblical events they commemorate; cf. commentary to LMT 22 (at n. 88), 24 (at n. 93), 26 (at is. 106), 32 (at n. 168), 33 (at n. 171), 39 (at n. 204) and 43 (at n. 219).

The substituted phrase *qui est lux mundi* also recalls the short passage that concludes Ælfric's Old English homily for the same feast. In a brief pendant to the exposition of the gospel of the day, he explains the custom of the Candlemas procession, and adds: 'peak he sume men singan ne cunnon, hi heron Peah-hwasere pxt leoht on heora handum, for8y on 8issum dage wins fiat so6e leoht Crist geboren to Pam temple, se 8e us alysdæ Pram Pystrum, and us gebrinc8 to Pam ecan leohte, se 8e leofa8 and rixa8 a butan ende. Amen' (CH Lix, ed. Thorpe 1, 150, emphasis added). Earlier in the homily Simeon's prophecy and the Johannine phrase *lux mundi* are

also explicitly linked: 'Symeon cwoe8 Pa-gyt, "He is leoht to onwrigenysse 8eoda, and wuldor Pinum folce Israhel." Ealle Bas word spra:c se Symeon be ham tilde to Pam heofenlican Finder, he hine to mannum sende. He is too leoht /e todraefdeba beostra Jises lifer, swa swa he sylf cweeJ on his godspelle, "Ic eom leoht ealles middangeardes, se he me fyligh, ne cymh he na on Pystrum, ac he hinf8 lifes leoht"' (CH Lix, ed. Thorpe I, 144). The reference to John VIII. 12 in the latter instance probably reflects the influence of one of /,bit's sources, Haymo of Auxerre's homily on the Circumcision. The Old English homily for the Purification, though written approximately sixteen years earlier (according to Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 243) may help explain Ælfric's departure from the text of the *Liber officialis* for LME 25. The conflation of ideas in the latter suggests a reminiscence of or conscious resort to the homily. The elaborations do not, however, appear in Ælfric's treatment of this liturgy for the second Old English pastoral letter to Wulfstan (Brief 111. 178).

VII Proper Customs: Septuagesima through Palm Sunday (LME 26-32)

LME 26 Septuagesima; cf. *Lib.off.* I.i.16-17, 6, 5, 19 and 1; RC 55-6

114 In Septuagesima, etc. Just as the season of Lent had evolved from a tendency to anticipate the celebration of Easter with a special period of mortification and penance, Lent itself gradually became the object of anticipation, so that the sixth and seventh centuries witnessed the development of a formally observed 'pre-Lent'. The latest and furthest extension was Septuagesima, actually a 'season' beginning on 'Septuagesima Sunday' three weeks before the first Sunday of Lent and lasting seventy days (thus ending on Saturday in Easter week); on these anticipatory developments of the liturgical calendar, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 309-11, with Tables at 404-6. The scant mention of Septuagesima or the two subsequent Sundays, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, in the *Regularis concordia* (see RC 55-6) must have seemed a deficiency to Ælfric, for he borrowed extensively from the *Liber officialis* to fill out his discussion of the pre-Lenten period. Ælfric's treatment of Amalarian material at LME 26 bears close resemblance to his use of the same source in the Old English homily for Septuagesima Sunday (CH II.v, ed. Godden, pp. 41-51). Whether the homily was published in 992 or 994 x 995 - the respective dates for the second series given by Clemoes ('Chronology', p. 244) and Godden (CH II, pp. xci-xciii) - the Old English adaptation of the passage must predate the LME by

about a decade, perhaps longer. When treating Septuagesima for the LME, 'Elfric probably returned directly to the Latin source rather than to his Old English version. If he did consult the latter, he unaccountably vitiated those improvements he had introduced in the homily, such as the re-ordering of liturgical incipits and the generally greater cogency of the 'spiritual warfare' metaphor (see below, n. 107). Even if he did not resort to the homily, the Old English analogues nevertheless reveal much about how IElfric interpreted his source. His earlier remarks on Candlemas (LME 25), with their interpolated reference to Christ as *lux mundi*, have also demonstrated the possibility that the interpretative context or arrangement of material in an earlier homily might exercise considerable influence when the subject was taken up again.

Some minor differences between CH II.v and LME 26 are also to be expected. Most noticeably, the Septuagesima homily incorporates numerous explanations of obscure or technical points for its non-specialist audience (e.g., 'Septuagesima is hundseofontigfeald getel'; 'Alleluia is ebreisc word. 1xt is on leden Laudate dominum').

105 *cantica caelestia*, etc. Adapted from Amalarius, Lib.o/j. I.i.16 and 17:

Quapropter alleluia in illo tempore non cantatur apud nos et dulcissimus ymnus angelorum 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', sed tractus pro alleluia ... Alleluia et 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' *cantica caelestia* sunt.

Cf. CH II.v, lines 234-7 and 278-9 (ed. Godden, pp. 49 and 51):

We willa3 eow secgan be Syssere andweardan ride. hwi seo halige gelacbung forlxt on godes cyrcan Alleluian. and Gloria in excelsis deo from 3isum andwerdum d,ege o6 ka halgan eastertide ... Alleluia is swa we cwoedon heofonlic sang.

EElfric begins with the practical direction that the celebratory 'Alleluia' and 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' be dropped from the mass in this season. His explanation - that these *cantica caelestia* do not belong in a penitential season - lacks the support of Amalarius's fuller argument (based on Ps. CXXXVI.4) that the exiled and enslaved Israelites cannot sing the songs of the Lord in a foreign land. LME 26 departs from both the source and CH II.v, however, by inserting the mention of *cantica caelestia* in the introductory sentence. The severity of +,lfric's abridgement has obscured the logic behind this and other instances of re-organization for LME 26,

but the more expansive Old English version reveals how he must have understood the progression of Amalarius's ideas. The church's self-imposed humiliation and preparation for helium .rpiritale actually consist of giving up the cantica cuelestia rather than of fasts or other penitential practices that Amalarius associates with soldierly exercise of 'warfare' (cf. Lib.off. I.i.18-19). Though Amalarius will later speak of suppressing the 'uocem gaudii et laetitiae, uocem sponsi et sponsae' (Lib.off. I.i.5-6, from jet. XXV.10; see below, n. 106), he will not directly equate these with the 'heavenly songs' of 'Alleluia' and 'Gloria in excelsis', mention of which he postpones to a later part of the chapter (I.i.16-17). In RI manuscripts, however, the redactor has omitted the intervening material, with the resulting enjambment of these ideas: 'Omittamus cum eis uocem gaudii et laeritiae, uocem sponsi et sponsae [here much omitted material] quapropter alleluia in illo tempore non cantatur apud nos, et dulcissimus hymnus "Gloria in excelsis Deo"' (I.i.6/I.i.16). Evidence of this sort strongly supports that .Elfric knew the Liber offuialis in the form of the R1. The corresponding material in R1(Sa) does not differ significantly from the standard R1.

106 Et humiliamur... sponsi et spouse Adapted from Amalarius, Lib. off. I. i.6 and 5:

(6) Fors dictator septuagesimae nouit per Christi gratiam nobis peccata dimissa; septuaginta annos mutauit, quia in aliquibus criminibus communicamus priori populo, septuaginta diebus, et clued illi inuiti sustinuerunc, quia serui erant, nos uoluntarie pro peccaris nostris sustineamus, quia liberi sumus; omittamus cum eis uocem gaudii et laetitiae, uocem sponsi ec sponsae.

(5) Quanto tempore in captiuitate fuerit [scil. populus Israel], Hieremias manifestat dicens: 'Perdam ex eis uocem gaudii et laetitiae, uocem sponsi et uocem sponsae, uocem molae et lumen lucernae, er erit uniuersa terra eius in solitudine et in stupore, et seruient omnes genres istae regi Babilonis septuaginta annis ...'

Cf. CH ILv, lines 246-51 and 253-5 (ed. Godden, p. 50):

... bxt israhela folc for heora mandxdum. and forgednyssum wurdon gehegode. and hundseofontig geara on babiloniscum beowdome buton blisse and myrhbe wunodon. No hylt godes gelaung bis hundseofontigfealde getel sylfwilles for hire gyltum. swa swa se ealda israhel neadunge heold on hxftnunge ... Se witega hieremias witegode be 8a re israhela 8eode. pxt hi sceoldon on Sam

hundseofontig geara face geswican. blisse stemne and færgunge.
brydguman stemne. and bryde.

To judge from the shared emphases of the two treatments, most significant to tElfric was the equation of the Babylonian captivity with the church's observance of a special penitential season, a correspondence to which he draws his audience's attention through carefully balanced antitheses ('sponte ... inuitus' / 'sylfwilles ... neadunge'). The verbal antithesis neatly underscores a typological one by celebrating the church's exalted status as the new Israel even while acknowledging its common lot with the old ('pro peccatis nostril' / 'for hire gyltum'). For unknown reasons, both Latin and Old English versions also reverse the progression of ideas in Lib.off. I.i.5 and 6. IElfric may have felt that the long quotation from Jeremiah (XXV.10-11; cf. VII.34) at Lib.off. I.i.5 was unnecessary since Amalarius's subsequent commentary (Li.6) repeats the crucial references to the 'uox gaudii et laetitiae'. In any case, the conclusion ('sine uoce', etc.) returns to and emphasizes the point of the preceding sentence, the dismissal of the celebratory 'Alleluia' and 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'. Once again fElfric represents the liturgical act as a response unmediated by Amalarius's intrusive pseudo-historical agent (here the 'dictator septuagesimae' of Lib. off. Li.6); cf. commentary to LME 22 (at n. 88), 24 (at n. 93), 25 (at n. 103), 32 (at n. 168), 33 (at n. 171), 39 (at n. 204) and 43 (at n. 219).

107 Ergo officia ipsa ... `Ornnis ... se abstinet' Adapted from Amalarius, Lib. off. Li. 19:

Constitutione officii sui ipsud ieiunium ... intimaui [scil. praeceptor officii] in prima oratione missae dicens: 'Vt qui iuste pro peccatis nostril affligimur'. Hic enim afflictionem sonat. In introitu dicit: 'Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me' .. . Propter hos dolores non possumus laetari et securi esse, sed praeparare debemus nos ad bellum, ut apostolus: 'Omnis autem, inquit, qui in agone contendit, ab omnibus se abstinet.'

Cf. CH ILv, lines 258-69 (ed. Godden, p. 50):

... for an þe us gedafenað þæt we sylfwilles fram 8isum andwerdan
dxge mid sumere stionysse to Sam gastlicum gefeohte us sylfe
gegearcian. swa swa seo cyrclice þenung us manað to heofunge.
and to ure synna bereowsunge. iErest on 8xre mxssan officio we
singað 'Circumdederunt me gemirus mortis'. Deabes geomerunga

me beedon. and belle sarnyssa me beedon. and is on minre gedrefednyssedrihten clypode. and he of his halgan temple mine stemne gehyrde. Eft on 8xre m;essan collectan we cwe8a8. 'Qui iuste pro peccatis nostris affligimur'. hxt is. we 8e rihtlice for urum synnum rind geswencte. Eac se apostol on Sam pistole cwx8. Mc 8xra be on gecampe win8. forhxf8 hine sylfne fram eallum 8ingum.

In the fuller context of source, the notion of spiritual warfare is prefaced by a discussion of fasting, and it is this physical 'affliction' that is to be understood when Amalarius quotes the collect for Septuagesima Sunday: 'Preces populi tui . . . exaudi: ut qui iuste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur' (Sac. Greg., no. 144, emphasis added). Though nothing in this prayer specifically admonishes the faithful to prepare for spiritual battle, the LME links the quotation to Amalarius's other two - from the introit (AMS, no. 34, from Ps. XVII.5) and epistle (I Cor. IX.24-X.4) - as though all three patently support the theme. In both of i lf ric's versions (but not in the source), mention of 'spiritual warfare' precedes the incipits, but the homily makes much more effective use of Amalarius's quotations from the mass propers and even re-arranges the Latin incipits in their correct liturgical order (introit-collect-epistle). The resulting progression emphasizes the grief of repentance as a strict but necessary measure if the Christian is to wage spiritual combat successfully ('mid sumere stiOnysse to Gam gastlicum gefeohte us sylfe gegearcian'). The concept of stidnys ('strictness' or 'rigour'), thus subtly introduced, provides a helpful transition between the challenges of soldierly and penitential discipline. By comparison, the abridgement at LSIE 26 has sundered Amalarius's point from the necessary supporting argument.

OS Nam Septuages.rima . . . sabbati fnitur Adapted from Amalarius, Lib.off. I.i.]

Septuagesima computatur secundum ritulationem [traditionem R/I sacramentorii et antiphonarii nouem ebdomadibus ante pascha Domini et finitur post pascha Domini in septima sabbati. Die dominica habet initium et in sabbati finem.

Cf. CH ILv, lines 243-5 (ed. Godden, pp. 49-50): 'Seo tid ongin6 on 6isum sunnandxge. nigon wucon xr eastron. and geendat') on Gam Sxrernesdxge rare easterlican wucan.' Here and frequently in the LME, the conjunction nam has so little causal force that it can be virtually ignored or allowed only a vague co-ordinative function (cf. below, n. 296). Here Uf ric explains, in words very close to

Amalarius's own, the computation of the season according to the church's calendar. Although this material comes at the head of Amalarius's chapter in the *Liber officialis* (and in RI), R-Iflic has postponed it to the end of his discussion in the LME (though not in the homily). That an appeal 'secundum disputationem Amalarii' should be substituted for 'secundum [traditionem] sacramentorii et antiphonarii' perhaps bears witness to Amalarius's considerable prestige, or to fElfric's scholarly habit of citing immediate sources.

Consuetudo dicit ... pinguedinem, etc. As usual, the introductory tag indicates a return to the Concordia following interpolation from another source. RC 55 requires the monks to approach the Lenten fast in stages, first by giving up fats, then, from Quinquagesima, milk and eggs (and foods made from these). See also LME 28.

° dimissa 'Alleluia'... canendi. runt St Benedict had stated that 'Alleluia' should suffice as the antiphon for the six psalms of the second Nocturn in the ferial Night Office (RSB, c. IX.9). RC 56 indicates only that in Lent there shall be three antiphons de psalmis - i.e., one per two psalms. fElfric is more specific, providing the incipit of each antiphon for each day of the week; this significant addition to the source is comparable to his expansive treatment of the hymnal at LME 13 and 50; see discussion above, pp. 35-6.

'Vt non delinquam ... Sana Domine . . . Eructauit cor ...' CAO II, series 27a and 38a (from Pss. XXXVIII.2, XL.5 and XLIV.2, respectively).

112 'Auertit Dominus ... Intende in me ... Juste iudicate ...' CAO II, series 28a and 39a (from Pss. LI.7, LIV.3 and LVII.2, respectively).

113 Quaerite Dominum ... Domine Deus ... Quam bonus ...' CAO II, series 29a and 40 (from Pss. LXVIII.33, LXIX.2 and LXXIII, respectively).

114 'Exultate Deo ... Tu solus altissimus ... Benedixisti Domine. . .' CAO II, series 30a and 41b (from Pss. LXXX.2, LXXXII.19 and LXXXIV.2, respectively).

1 is 'Cantate Domino... Quia mirabilia fecit ... Jubilate Deo ...' CAO II, series 31 b and 42a (from Pss. XCV.2, XCVII. 1 and XCVII.4, respectively).

116 'Visita nos ... De necessitatibus ... Confitebor Domino ...' CAO II, series 32a and 43a (from Pss. CV.4, CVI.6 and CVII.1-30,

respectively).

LME 27 Sexagesima; cf. Lib.off. Lii.1

117 In Sexagessima, etc. That is, the Sunday after Septuagesima Sunday (see above, n. 104). Apart from the last phrase (similiter ... diei), LME 27 is an almost verbatim quotation from Amalarius, Lib.off. Lii.1. The only striking departure is readily explained as a variant in 7Elfric's exemplar: all of the RI manuscripts, including RI (Sa), have the incorrect Sexagesima for Septuagesima.

118 'Deus qui conspicias ... subsistimus' In the Hadrianum (Sacr.Greg., nos. 628 and 748) and all extant Anglo-Saxon sacramentaries, the collect quoted by Amalarius is assigned not to Sexagesima but to the feasts of Sixtus (6 August) and Martin (11 November). Hallinger's apparatus to LME 27 (p. 163.27-8) suggests that the confusion is with the collect for the second Sunday in Lent, beginning 'Deus qui conspicias omni nos uirtute destitui' (Sacr.Greg., no. 202). Amalarius's sacramentary may have erroneously allotted either collect to Sexagesima, but it is perhaps easier to believe that similar incipits led him to misremember the correct prayer: 'Deus qui conspicias quia ex nulla nostra actione confidimus, concede propitius or contra aduersa omnia doctoris gentium protectione muniamur' (Sacr.Greg., no. 147). The normal distribution of all three of these prayers in Sacr.Greg. is reflected in Corp.41, Leofr.Miss., Miss.NMin., Miss.RJum., Miss.StAug. and Winch.Sacr., so the case is strong that flfric has taken over an erroneous detail from his source. Note, however, that the correct incipit, lacking the necessary reference to uirtus, would not have advanced Amalarius's theme ('in nobis non est uirtus soluendi').

LME 28 Quinquagesima; cf. Lib.off. I.iii.1; RC 55

119 Quinquagessima, etc. That is, the Sunday before Ash Wednesday and the formal beginning of Lent. Again, IElfric has lifted this entire section from Amalarius.

120 propius Nocent emends to proprius following Hanssens's edition, although propius is an authentic RI variant and so was probably the reading of i lfric's exemplar. The reading in RI (Sa), propitius, may represent a subsequent correction.

121 Modo Manuscripts of RI leave Amalarius's original iam unchanged, and there is reason to suspect that the substitution of modo is 'lfric's. In the Grammar he defines modo as 'nucla o60e

hwiltidum', whereas 'iam eallunga o3\$e no getacna8 kreo tida, forhgewitene and andwerde and towearde' (z ilfrics Grammatik and Glossar: Text and Varianten, ed. J. Zupitza (Berlin, 1880), p. 235, lines 13-14, and p. 241, lines 18-19). If TElfric took the primary meaning of modo to be nuda, in Old English an emphatic marker of present time as opposed to past (see Mitchell, Old English Syntax, § 2569), he may have preferred it therefore to the possibly ambiguous jam which can refer to the past, present and future. Notably, zlfric's first gloss of iam is not a temporal marker at all (eallunga 'altogether'). Compare a similar use of mode in c. 17 of fElfric's abbreviation of Wulfstan of Winchester's Vita S. z thelwoldi: cf. Wulfstan's 'nunc autem consuete Burh appellatur' (c. 24) and Elfric's 'modo consuere Both nominator' (Life of St z thelwold, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 40 and 76, respectively).

122 'Esto mini ... refugii' The introit for Quinquagesima Sunday, AMS, no. 36a (from Ps.(Romanum) XXX.3).

123 abstjnere . . . de ouis fiunt Cf. RC 55: 'a Quinquagesima uero quadragesimalem teneant abstinentiam more solito'. This restriction, combined with that from pinguedo observed since Septuagesima (LAIE 26), marks the beginning of full Lenten abstinence; see RC (Symons), p. 32, n. 1.

LME 29 Ash Wednesday; cf. RC 57

124 Consuetudo: Quartaferia ... nova decantata, etc. The source for this passage (RC 57) actually begins with a general instruction about the processions on all Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent (until Maundy Thursday) and from the Octave of Pentecost until 1 October. i lfric postpones this information until after his description of Ash Wednesday, which is very close to the ordo set down in the Concordia. i lfric and the Concordia agree in placing these ceremonies after None, although in other customaries the procession and imposition of ashes commonly take place after Sext (Symons, 'Sources', p. 155).

125 quia legimus ... prime preuaricationis Source(s) unknown, but there is an analogue in IElfric's Old English sermon for Ash Wednesday: We r, dab on bocum eg6er ge on 8mre ealdan m, ge on bare niwan, hmt ha menn be heora synna be-hreowsodon, h t hi mid axum hi sylfe bestreowodon, and mid hoeran hi gescryddon to lice. No do we his lytle on ores lenctenes anginne, bmt we streowia8 axan uppan ure heafda to geswutelunge bat we sculon ure synna

- behreowsian, on ure lencten-licum fastene' (LS XII, ed. Skeat I, 262-4, lines 33-40). It may not be necessary to posit an immediate source for either passage, since the link between sin, mortality and the sign of the ashes was widely re-inforced by both scripture and the liturgy (e.g., Gen. 111.19).
- 126 'Exaudi nos Domine' AMS, no. 37a; for outlines of the Roman and Sarum rites for Ash Wednesday, see the chart by Hughes, § 915.
- 127 cum psalmo Specified at RC 57 as Ps. LXVIII.
- 128 'Deus misereatur nostri', collecta Ps. LXVI. The Concordia includes preces between the psalm and collect; DEC 5 further specifies, 'Preces: "Peccauimus Domine; Adiuua nos".'
- 129 reliquas antiphons decantando Not specified by IElfric or the Concordia, but DEC 5 includes 'Antiphonas " Iuxta uestibulum" et "Imutemur [sic] habitu"' (see RC (Symons), p. 32, n. 9, and AMS, no. 37a).
- 130 ecclesiam quo eunt, etc. Again EElfric retains an instruction to process to some other church but does not specify the name or location; see above, n. 98.
- 131 et dominicam orationem, flexis genibus This phrase or an equivalent is absent from the Concordia. My translation associates kneeling with the Lord's Prayer only, not with the saint's antiphon, but oElfric's original is ambiguous.
- 132 'Ad to leuau i oculos meos' Ps. CXXII.
- 133 usque ad Exaltationem sanctae crucis That is, until 14 September, but cf. RC 57 ('usque ad kalendas octobris'), as well as DEC (O) 5 ('usque ad Kalendas Nouembris') and DEC (R) 5 ('ad Calendas Octobris'). This extraordinary disagreement must owe something to the fact that important changes to the horarium were already associated with each of these dates. The Office was divided into its winter and summer periods by Easter and 1 October (or 1 November for hymns, placement of Vigils of the Dead, etc.), while the distribution of meals and lectio changed three times per year (at Lent, Easter and 14 September (= Exaltation of the Holy Cross)); see RC (Symons), pp. xli and xxxiii-xxxv.
- 134 semper discalciatis pedibus Not in the Concordia (see RC (Symons), p. 32, n. 5). In the Latin it is not clear whether the instruction applies whenever the procession takes place or only in

the latter of the two designated periods (i.e., from the Octave of Pentecost to 14 September). Given the penitential character of these processions, the phrase 'discalciatis pedibus' probably applies to both the Lenten and summer periods; the analogues cited in Hallinger's apparatus to LME 29, 165.1 support this interpretation.

135 'Exsurge Domine' Same as AMS, no. 201a.

LME 30 Lent; cf. Lib.off. I.iv.1 + Lect.discr.long. II.1; RC 59

136 Amalarius: In Quadragesima, etc. Almost verbatim from Lib.off. Liv.I. The LME reading quia for correct quem probably stems from an abbreviation incorrectly expanded. Quia is not an attested RI variant.

137 'Inuocauit me et ego exaudiam eum' AMS, no. 40a, the mass introit for the first Sunday in Lent (from Ps.(Romanum) XC.15).

138 'Tempore accepto ... adiuui te' II Cor. VI.2, from the epistle reading at mass (II Cor. VI.1-10).

139 angeli Domini custodiunt nos From the gradual, AMS, no. 40a. (from Ps. XC. 11).

140 scuto ueritatis circumdati sumus From the tract, AMS, no. 40a (from Ps. XC.5).

141 'Vade retro Satanas' Matt. IV.10, from the gospel of the day (Matt. IV.1-11, Jesus's temptation in the desert). IElfric has slightly altered the quotation as given in the Liber officialis, 'Vade, Satana' (or Wade, Satanas' in R1(Sa)) to the common Old Latin variant 'Vade retro Satanas'. EElfric's preference for the reading uade retro over simple uade finds confirmation in his Old English homily for the first Sunday in Lent. There, in EElfric's comments on Christ's rebuke, three manuscripts of the homily include a Latin annotation:

Quidam dicunt non dixisse saluatorem Satanl 'wade retro' sed ranrum 'uade'. Sed tamen in recrioribus et uetustioribus exemplaribus haberur 'uade retro Satanassicut interpretatio ipsius nominis declarat. Nam diabolus 'deorsum ruens' interpretatur. Apostolo igitur Perm dicitur a Christo 'wade retro me', id est 'sequere me'. Diabolo non dicitur 'uade retro me' sed 'uade retro', sicut iam diximus, et sic scripsit beatus Hieronymus in una epistola.

The three manuscripts containing this interpolation are CCCC 198, and Cambridge, University Library Ii. 4. 6 and Gg. 3. 28. The last of

these (from which the above quotation is transcribed) is probably a copy of a collection produced under iElfric's own supervision (see Sisam, *Studies*, pp. 165-7t). It is very likely that the above Latin comment is the work of fElfric himself - perhaps a marginal note that became incorporated into the text of the homily. On this note and others like it, see the introduction to CH II, ed. Godden, p. lxxxiii. On 11lfric's willingness elsewhere to adopt non-Vulgate readings, see R. Marsden, 'Elfric as Translator: the Old English Prose Genesis', *Anglia* 109 (1991), 319-58, at p. 333. The alteration of the biblical verse at LME 30 also shows T,lfric again correcting what he may have perceived as a misquotation of scripture by his source (cf. the example of sacerclotum above, at n. 93).

142 reliquie et cruces occultantur, etc. Cf. Lib.off. 1.i.23 and the widespread RI interpolation (Hanssens's *Lect.dscr.bmg.* 11. 1):

Eadem quoque ratione nos dicimus quod melius est non adorare crucem istis diebus quibus ante passionem ieiunauit Christus . . . Sed si quis uoluerit, facial, et nos soli non facimus, quia absurdum putamus illam adorare, dum alleluia relinquimus, et, ut nouum sit nohis in die eius passionis, cum de loco occulto ostensa sit nobis. Et iterum, ecce in quadragesimo reliquiae atque cruces occultantur. Et uelamen inter sancta sanctorum it populum ponitur. Igitur si quis sapiens fuerit, in menre prouidebit si iusrum sibi sit cruces adorare, dum occultantur. Et si adorauerit, in die passionis eius opus ei non erit nobiscum crucem adorare.

While Bateson (*Excerpta ex institutionibns*, p. 182, n. 4) was correct to claim that this passage does not come from the authentic *Liber offirialis*, she could not have known about the post-Amalarian interpolations found only in Ri manuscripts. The anonymous compiler of that recension has inserted this teaching about the veneration of crosses and relics between the chapters on Septuagesima and Sexagesima, rather than at a more obvious place, the beginning of Lent (although the choice does make sense in view of his argument based the presence of 'Alleluia', which is absent from Septuagesima onwards; cf. LME 26). In appropriating this passage, fElfric has moved it to a more functional place among the customs proper to the forty days of Lent. Otherwise he follows the wording of the source closely, although he clarifies the interpolator's argument by re-ordering certain phrases so that the instruction (the veiling of holy objects) precedes the justification (the omission of 'Alleluia').

143 aliquid nobis augendurn, etc. This custom closely follows the

Lenten devotions at RC 59, which in turn echoes RSB, c. XLIX.5. Notably, fElfric's Lenten customs omit all reference to the wearing of chasubles by the priest, deacon and subdeacon at mass in Lent and on Ember Days (cf. RC 58). The Concordia goes into some detail on the point, dictating that the subdeacon shall remove his chasuble when he reads the epistle and that the deacon shall wear his folded over his left shoulder when he reads the gospel.

144 duos psalmos prostrati ... peroremus deuoti Verbatim from RC 59. The devotion imposed by IElfric and the Concordia was in part a response to Benedict's admonition in RSB, c. XLIX, that monks should assume some extra spiritual obligation in Lent. These extra psalms, or psalmi prostrate, were a commonly prescribed devotion in early medieval monastic customaries (Symons, 'Sources', p. 276), and the Concordia and LME agree in their descriptions of the custom. At the end of every Office except Nocturns, the monks shall prostrate themselves and say two psalms, specified as one from the seven penitential (Pss. VI, XXXI, XXXVII, L, CI, CXXIX and CXLII) and one from the fifteen gradual psalms (Pss. CXIX-CXXXIII), followed by the 'Kyrie', Lord's Prayer, the preces pro peccatis and a collect. The devotion is discussed in detail by Tolhurst, pp. 93-101.

145 Domine ne in furore tun' et 'Ad Dominum' Pss. V I and CXIX.

146 preces pro peccatis Printed by Tolhurst, p. 99, beginning '(V.) Adiuvaa nos deus salutaris noster et propter gloriam nominis tui domine libera nos. (R.) Et propicius [sic] esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum', followed by thirteen further versicleresponse petitions (though the form might be shortened; see Tolhurst, p. 95).

14, Beati quorum', 'Leuau' Pss. XXXI and CXX.

148 'Domine ne in furore tuo' (ii) et'Letatus sum' Pss. XXXVII and CXXI.

149 'Miserere mei Deus' et 'Ad to leuau' oculos meos' Pss. L and CXXII.

150 `Domine exaudi' et `Nisi quia Dominus' Pss. CI and CXXIII.

151 De profundis', 'Qui confidant' Pss. CXXIX and CXXIV.

152 `Domine exaudi' (ii) et'In conuertendo' Pss. CXLII and CXXV.

153 offerat ... ad missam maiorem This exact provision does not occur in the source. An earlier passage in the Concordia (RC 25), omitted by EElfric, directs that on Monday the right side of the choir shall

present the offerings at the matutinal mass, the left at the principal mass, and that this order will reverse on Tuesday, and so alternate through the rest of the week.

154 *Sabbato ... radent se fratres* The source, RC 59, confirms that the Saturday before the fourth Sunday in Lent is intended, although the terms 'media(na)' and (as here) *mediante Quadragesima* 'anciently referred to the fifth (later 'Passion') Sunday; see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 309.

LME 31 *Passion Sunday*; cf. *Lib. off. IV.xx.1-3* and 5

155 *Amalarius: Dies Passionis Domini*, etc. From *Amalarius, Lib.off. IV.xx.1-3* and 5. s lfric's first sentence is quoted verbatim, but the rest of his passage is a significant adaptation:

(1) *Dies passionis Domini computantur duabus ebdomadibus ante pascha Domini. Neque enim ab re est, quod in duabus ebdomadibus recolitur eius passio, quoniam in duobus temporibus huius mundi scribitur et informatur idem [eadem RI] passio ...*

(2) *In illis diebus amittimus per xi dies in Solis responsoriis gloriam sanctae trinitatis, quoniam per humilitatem ueniendum est ad passionem Christi. Passio et persecutio humiliant, quantum ad praesens cernitur, massam quae ex Adam sumpta est. Hanc imitationem humilitatis designant turbae yuae obuam uenerunt Domino die palmarum ad descensum nlonis Oliveti. Ymnus scilicet 'Gloria Patri et Filio, et Spiritui sancto' gloriam sanctae trinitatis recolit.*

(3) *Quoniam una est persona filii Dei et filii hominis, qui pate uenerat, conformat se sancta ecclesia capiti suo et de glorificatione ems reticet [reticetur R/], usque duet exaltetur per triumphum uictoriae.*

(5) *Ab illo die quando amitrimus 'Gloria Patri', duae ebdomadae suer, hoc est quattuordecim dies usque in pascha Domini. Dies paschae iam de tertia ebdomada est, in qua restauratur omnis amissa glorificatio. In tertio tempore legis gratiae omnia beneficia redduntur ecclesiae, quae expectauerunt patres nostri, qui tenebantur in claustris inferni, tempore naturalis legis et tempore legis litterae.*

Amalarius's chief point is the omission of the 'Gloria Patri' at the end of the responsories in the Night Office, justified by Christ's

suppression of his own divinity during the last two weeks of his earthly life. The arguments seem confusing, not least because Amalarius unaccountably separates the interpretation of the two weeks of Passiontide as the two ages of this world, *ante legem* and *sub lege*, from the analogous interpretation of Paschaltide as the age *sub gratia* (Lib.off. IV.xx.1 and 5, quoted above). R-Ifric joins the ideas of these two separate passages and declines to speculate on the theological implications of omitting the 'Gloria Patri'.

156 *omittimu_r inuitatorium*, etc. At first glance, Tlfric appears to have supplemented Amalarius in the detail *`omittimus inuitatorium et in responsories "Gloriam" sanctae Trinitatis'* (cf. Lib.off. IV.xx.2, quoted in the preceding note). I have not emended the text, but as it stands the point is problematic. It not only opposes the teaching of the source but creates an internal contradiction in the LME. The invitatory psalm (Ps. XCIV) was commonly omitted on Epiphany (see LME 24) and during the last three days of Holy Week. When discussing the special customs of the Triduum, , Ifric will even note '*Inuitatorium non canimus*' (LME 33) - a superfluous instruction if the monks omitted this element of Nocturns from Passion Sunday onwards. If the manuscript is correct here, fElfric's instruction to give up the invitatory from Passion Sunday preserves a notable local variation of liturgical practice. More likely, however, is an error of haplography at some stage in the copying of this sentence, which may have originally read '*omittimus in inuitatorio*' or '*in inuitatoriis*'. A Ifric's original instructions may therefore have been to omit the 'Gloria Patri' at the end of the invitatory and at the end of the responsories from Passion Sunday until the Triduum. Then, on the last three days of Holy Week, the 'Gloria Patri' would be dropped from all parts of the mass and Office. This hypothesis sets right a contradiction in the LME and brings fElfric into agreement with the common practice of the early medieval church. Although ordines do not always refer to the invitatory specifically (nor does Amalarius mention it at Lib.off. IV.xx.2), the 'Gloria patri' was regularly dropped after it as well as after the responsories in Passiontide; for specific mentions, see OR XXVIII.2 and XXXI.2; see also the thirteenth-century commentary by Gulielmus Durandus, the *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* VI.lxiv.4 (21 lv): '*Et est aduertendum, quo[] tacetur [soil. 'Gloria Patri'] in introitibus et responsories, quid illa soot de passione, et in Venite exultemus Domino [i.e., Ps. XCIV, the invitatory]. In psalmis veto et hymnis, non'* (emphasis added). Amalarius himself elsewhere (Lib.off. IV.xxxvii.7) refers to the dropping of the invitatory '*in diebus*

passionis Domini', but the immediate qualification 'quando Iudaei congregabantur ad pessima consilia de nece Domini' (i.e., Wednesday of Holy Week, by traditional reckoning; see Lib. off. I.xi.2) indicates that the dies passionis there meant are the Triduum, not the entire two weeks of Passiontide.

A minor liturgical notice also occurs in IElfric's Old English homily for Passion Sunday: 'Leos tid fram 8isum andwerdan dege o8 ba halgan eastertide is gecweden cristes 8rowungtid ... On 8isum dagum we forlxta8 on urum repsum Gloria patri. for geomerunge Jere halgan 8rowunge. buton sum healic freolstid him on besceote' (CH II.xiii, ed. Godden, p. 127, lines 1-2 and 8-10). Unlike the Old English homily for Sepruagesima, this passage does not reflect the influence of the Liber officialis, nor does it deal with the liturgy in any detailed way. On the other hand, the Old English makes a point of mentioning that in Passiontide the 'Gloria patri' is dropped after the responsories (OE repsas), but says nothing about omitting the invitatory.

LME 32 Palm Sunday; cf. RC 60; Lib.off. Lx.1 + Lect.discr.long. 11.3-4 and 6

157 dum matutinalis missa canitur, etc. i Ifric's description of the Palm Sunday rituals follows that of RC 60 closely, and once again these two depart from continental practice in a number of details; see RC (Symons), p. 35, n. 2; Symons, 'Sources', p. 155-6; Hallinger, apparatus to RC 60, 106.2-3. Hughes (§ 917) provides comparative outlines of the fully developed Roman and Sarum versions, and a broader conspectus of medieval and early modern sources is provided by Schmidt, pp. 694-704.

158 ubi palme benedicendae sunt The awkward use of ubi (? for quo) hints of either a careless abridgement or a subsequent textual corruption (cf. RC 60: 'ad aecclesiam ubi palmae sunt'). This provision, similar to those given for Candlemas and Ash Wednesday, takes for granted the presence of some neighbouring church or chapel (cf. above, on. 98 and 130). At this point the source again mentions an antiphon and collect in honour of the saint to whom the processional church is dedicated (RC 60), though it is not clear that IElfric's oratio processionis corresponds to this (see n. 160, below).

159 si aura permiserit Here T-Ifric takes the phrase as the source intends, i.e., with reference to the wearing of albs (cf. RC 60: 'omnes, si fieri potest et aura permiserit, albis induti'). He seems to have misunderstood the same phrase at its earlier occurrence in the

Candlemas ordo (see comment at n. 97, above).

160 finita oratione processionis Cf. RC 60: 'Finita oratione Iscil. in honour of the saint}'. From here on both the Concordia and the LME give only the roughest outline of what was assuredly a complex order of prayers, readings and chants. The most complete Anglo-Saxon witness from IElfric's time may be the ordo copied in s. xil at Christ Church, Canterbury, as part of Cant.Ben. (pp. 22-8). IElfric briefly refers to the ceremonies of Palm Sunday in CH I.xiv (ed. Thorpe I, 218) and again in the second Old English pastoral letter to Wulfstan (Brief I11.181).

161 'Turba multa ... post eum abut' The prefatory gospel reading, John XII.12-19.

benedictio palmarum For the form, see, e.g., Cant. Ben. , pp. 23-5.

163 'Pueri Hehreorum' The first of a widely used series of processional antiphons; see, e.g., Cant.Ben., p. 25.

164 Transacta procession, etc. Alfric skips over the return to the main church and the singing of the antiphonae maioret mentioned, but not specified, at RC 60. Cf. Cant.Ben., pp. 25-6, where these are given in full: (1) 'Ante sex dies', (2) 'Cum audisset , (3) 'Occurrent turbe' and (4) 'Ceperunt omnes'.

165 'Gloria laws' rum uersihus ... smut nisi est For the text of the famous hymn, attributed to Theodulf of Orleans (d. c. 821), see AH L, 160-i. The pueri have returned to the church ahead of the procession in order to begin the hymn from within (deintus). The refrain, beginning 'Gloria laus et honor tibi sit', was sung by all between the verses, which were sung by the cantor; see the arrangement at Cant.Ben., pp. 27-8, and RC (Symons), p. 35, n. 6.

166 'Ingrediente Domino' See Cant. Ben., p. 28.

167 shut supra dictum est That is, as described in the ordo for Candlemas, wherein Terce also comes between the procession and mass (LME 25).

160 in memoriam illius rei, etc. Adapted from Amalarius, Lih.off I.x.l:

[Dies palmarum dicitur, id est uictoriartms. R1I Eadem die Dominus de Bcthaniam descendit 11 ierusalem, quando obuiam uenit ei turba, Lit Johannes narrat in crastinum autem turba multa, quae uenerat ad diem festum, rum audisset quia emit Iesus

Hierusolimam, acceperunt ramos palmarum, et praecesserunt [processerunt RI] obuiam ei, et clamauerunt: 'Osanna, benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini, rex Israhel.' In memoriam hilts rei nos per ecclesias nostras solemus portare ramos et clamare: 'Osanna'.

fElfric preserves the Vulgate (and RI) reading proceruerunt For once, however, Amalarius's commentary does not intrude an anonymous human 'author of the liturgy', so his resulting first-person plural statement ('nos per ecclesias ...') suits the kind of dramatic emphasis fElfric has elsewhere had to introduce through revision; cf. commentary to LNie 22 (at n. 88), 24 (at n. 93), 25 (at n. 103), 26 (at n. 106), 33 (at n. 171), 39 (at n. 204) and 43 (at n. 219).

161' triumphalem uictoriam Christi Note the variant beginning of the source passage preserved in R1 manuscripts ('palmarum ... id est uictoriarum', quoted in the preceding note). The sentence may lie behind fElfric's closing reference to Christ's 'triumphalem uictoriam', but the idea is an exegetical commonplace. A lfric discusses the symbolism of the palms without recourse to Amalarius in his Old English homily for this same occasion:

Nu sceole we healdan urne palm, odjxer se sangere onginne o one offrung-sang, and geoffrian lronne Gode done palm, for ixre getacnungc. Palm getacna8 syge. Svgefxst wtes Crist)afra he done micclan deoldl oferwann, and us generede; and we sccolon beon eac sygefeste furh Godes mihte, swa fxt we Lire undeawas, and calle Leahtras, and done deofol oferwinnan, and us mid godum weorcum geglencgan, and on ende tires lifer betxcan Gode done palm, bxt is, ere sigc, and dancian him georne, fret we, durh his fultum, deoful oferwunnon, frxt he us beswican ne milite. (CH I.xiv, ed. Thorpe I. 218)

In the second Old English pastoral letter to Archbishop Wulfstan, A lfric merely notes that the practice has a symbolic meaning, but refers the reader to (his own?) previous discussions of the subject (Brief III.181-2).

170 Eadem die ad Passionern, etc. Seemingly a conflation of a notable R1 variant (Hanssens's Lect.discr.long. 11.3-6, quoted here) and phrases from RC 60:

Eadem die ad passionem Domini diaconus dicat: 'Dominus uobiscum,' et respondent omnes: 'Et cum spiritu too'; sed cum dint 'Passio Domini' et reliqua, nullus respondeat 'Gloria tibi Domine' . . .

Et ad illam passionem [scil. in feria quartal diaconus dicar: 'Dominus uobiscum,' et respondent omnes: 'Et cum spiritu too,' sed cum dick Tassio Domini' et reliqua, nullus respondeat 'Gloria tibi Domine' ... Ad illam passionem [scil. in feria sexta) diaconus non dicat: 'Dominus uobiscum,' sed: 'Passio Domini' et reliqua, nullo respondente: 'Gloria tibi Dom i ne.'

A gospel account of Christ's Passion was read on Palm Sunday, Wednesday of Holy Week and Good Friday. The formulaic dialogue introducing and concluding these readings differs slightly from that during the rest of the year. Here fElfric's sources pose a complex problem, for he appears to have drawn phrases from both RC 60 and the *Retractatio prima*. The evidence of DEC 6 further complicates the picture, for it agrees almost verbatim with the LME in its instruction for the Passion reading on Palm Sunday, but for those of the following Wednesday and Good Friday, where 1Elfric has separate, successive instructions, the DEC follows the *Concordia*. In excluding the DEC from /Elfric's canon, Clemoes explained this partial correspondence between the LME and DEC as a result of their common descent from 'a version of the *Regularis Concordia* slightly different from any now extant' ('Supplement to the Introduction', *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, p. cxlvi, n. 94). If so, then this 'variant version' of the *Concordia*, underlying both the LME and the DEC, already contained an interpolation from R1. It seems, therefore, that the *Liber ofcialis* was being used by someone to supplement the *Concordia* even before fElfric's writing of the LME. Yet s lfric himself takes credit for introducing Amalarian material into iEthelwold's customary (see LME 1), and the present instance is not the only case of close textual correspondence between the LME and DEC. The case for and against 1Elfric's influence, direct or indirect, on the DEC is re-examined in Jones, 'Two Composite Texts'.

VIII Proper customs: the triduum sacrum (LME 33-45)

LME 33 Nocturns, *Tenebrae* and the special 'Kyrie'-responsory; cf. variant Lib.off. in RI (Sa), pp. 18-21; RC 61 and 62

'71 In Cena Domini, etc. From this point, through the discussion of the Easter Vigil, iElfric's exemplar of the *Liber ofuialis* must have departed significantly from other RI manuscripts, resembling instead the variant of that recension now preserved in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 154 (Salisbury, s. xi"). Despite some general similarities to the common Amalarian and RI teaching (cf. Liboff. IVxxi.4-6), in its details LME 33 unambiguously follows RI(Sa), pp. 18-19, which,

unlike Amalarius's treatise, takes the form of a dialogue:

Scito a to quaeri cur prohibeas more solito'Domine labia mea aperies'siue'Deus in adiutorium meum' et 'Gloriam'sequentem dicere?

Audi, scrutator, intende consuetudini tuae et disce ab ea utrum oporteat nec ne. Qui soles tecum dicere hoc quod putasti, nisi fallor, princeps congregationis. Princeps enim nostrae congregationis in hac nocte traditus est ... Non habemus nostrum episcopum de quo dicit apostolus: Conuersi estis nuns ad pastorem Cr episcopum animarum uestrarum' [I Peter 11.251. Ipse enim dicie 'Traditus sum et non egrediebar' [Ps. LXXXVII.91. Quia non egredirut ad discipulos, non est qui dicat: 'Deus in adiutorium meum'. Scriptum est: 'Recessit pastor poster, Eons aquae uiuae' [cf. Jer. 11.1 311. Inuitatorium non canimus quia dispersae Bunt ones et non est pastor qui congreget [cf. Ise. XIII.14 and jet. XLIX.51. Pastor de se monstrat tuham canere prophetalem, '<Percutiarn iniquens> [percutiens iniquis AISI pastorem et dispergentur ones gregis' [Matt. XXVI.31 or Mark XIV.27; cf. Zach. X111.71.

Preceptor mi, cur precipis a Cena Domini Ut nec in psalm is nec in ullo loco 'Gloria dicatur usque in Pascha?

Cur inquam? Cui habes dicere gloriam? Pilio Dei? Quem solemus glorificare inter iniquos deputatum else uidemus [cf. Luke XXII.371
.. .

Didascale mi, dic mathiti: quis est qui benedictionem petat ant dicat 'Tu autern Domine, miserere nobis'?

Comprehenso pasture grex omnis fugam iniit, 'discipuli omnes relicto to fugerunt' [Matt. XXVI.56).

During the last three days of Holy Week, the liturgy underwent a dramatic change, reaching a climax in the Great Vigil of Easter. Further customs were dropped from the daily horarium in order to create a solemn and austere atmosphere. In addition to the 'Alleluia' and 'Gloria in excelsis' (omitted at mass since Septuagesima) and the 'Gloria Patti' at the end of the invitatory and responsories (omitted in the Night Office since Passion Sunday), the invitatory itself was now dropped, and all the Offices lost their opening dialogues 'Deus in adiutorium meum inmode' and/or 'Domine labia mea aperies', as well as the 'Gloria Patri' at the end of the individual psalms.

The author of this passage in R1(Sa) may have derived from Amalarius's original his focus on some liturgical implications of Christ's absence following his arrest. Whatever its sources, the resulting text of R1(Sa) is much more consistent in this emphasis than the corresponding passages at Lib.o/f_ IV.xxi.4-6. fElfric's extensive verbatim use of the source, which is little more than a tissue of biblical quotations, also recalls his own preference for scriptural wording and justifications evidenced elsewhere in the LME (see above, on. 93 and 141). fGIfric may also have appreciated the way this passage presents the Triduum as a virtual recapitulation of events surrounding Christ's Passion; on this pattern cf. commentary to LME 22 (at n. 88), 24 (at n. 93), 25 (at n. 103), 26 (at n. 106), 32 (at n. 168), 39 (at n. 204) and 43 (at n. 219).

This conception of the liturgy as a kind of (anti-)typological response to historical events was facilitated by the associative habits of mind developed by 'spiritual' biblical exegesis. If YElfric's reading of the liturgy belongs to this broader context, his 'spiritual' understanding of liturgical acts may nevertheless have had at least one practical effect. In both the First and Second Series of Catholic Homilies, a brief notice, apparently by Alfric himself, follows the homily for Palm Sunday, declaring flatly that 'ecclesiastical customs' (circlice ileawas) forbid the delivery of a sermon on any of the last three days of Holy Week, which days are accordingly termed swigdagas 'silent days'; see CH Lxiv (ed. Thorpe 1, 218) and CH II.xiv (ed. Godden, p. 149, line 357). The rare Old English term swigdagas has captured the attention of philologists and liturgical scholars who have debated the exact nature of the 'circlice 8eawas' mentioned, as well as the evidence that Alfric's dictate, if widely known, was widely ignored by eleventh-century compilers of Latin and vernacular homiliaries. In the margins of two manuscripts, an eleventh-century annotator - very likely St Wulfstan's chancellor and biographer, Coleman - has even left a record of vehement objection to IElfric's no-preaching rule (see Ker, 'Old English Notes Signed "Coleman"', p. 27).

IElfric's idiosyncratic position and the term swigdagas may reflect the impact of the monastic liturgy, which was characterized during the Triduum by its austere silences and omissions Q. Hill, 'Elfric's "Silent Days"', in *Sources and Relations*, ed. Collins et al., pp. 118-31, at 123-5). Liturgical commentaries such as Amalarius's offered the means for applying to the preacher's office the idea that already justified the omission of the opening versicles, invitatory,

'Gloria Patri' and other parts of the Office - namely, the idea that the pastor is absent (Frank, 'A Note', p. 183). iElfric's quotations of R1(Sa) at LME 33 prove his familiarity with this commentary tradition. What cannot be determined precisely is whether or not he would also have associated preaching (not normally part of the Night Office) with the 'officia principis congregationis' that are to be silenced. Some commentators on the liturgy did so explicitly (see Frank, 'A Note', pp. 181 and 184-5), and 'Elfric may have made a similar connection. It is far from clear what the occasions for preaching within a monastery were. In the earlier AngloSaxon period, preaching appears to have been a common pastoral function of religious communities; see A. Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early AngloSaxon England', in *Pastoral Care*, ed. Blair and Sharpe, pp. 137-70. For the reform period, the question has been examined, and different conclusions reached, by Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, and M. Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 207-42. The *Regularis concordia* allows for an extraliturgical exposition of the gospel on feast days, delivered by the abbot in Chapter (RC 26). Opportunities are also documented, of course, in the monastic cathedrals (St Wulfstan and Coleman of Worcester come immediately to mind) but are conceivable also in smaller, non-episcopal monastic churches, especially where these undertook parochial functions (cf. iElfric's instructions on the baptism of infants, LME 46 and n. 230). Whatever the occasion, the abbot and prior would be the only members of the community likely to bear the responsibility of preaching, and the term *principes congregationis* would suit either of them. Given the teaching, moreover, of RSB, cc. II.2 and LXIII.13, that the abbot stands *nice Christi*, the logic of associating the literal silence of the preacher with the figurative 'absence' of Christ, who is pastor and episcopus (I Peter 11.25, quoted in R1(Sa)), becomes easier to understand.

172 Domine labia mea ... Deus in adiutorium The opening dialogues of versicles and responses for Nocturns (from Pss. L.17 and LXIX.2).

henedictionem ... Yu autem Donune' The lessons at Nocturns were preceded by a blessing, administered by the presider to the reader, and concluded with a formula (*ad,nonitio*) Tu autem Domine, miserere nostri'; on variations of the latter, see also LAME 79.

1 74 ... fugerunt' Matt. XXVI.56; cf. Mark XIV.50.

candelas ... extinguimus, etc. The *Concordia* only implies the observance of *Tenebrae* (RC 61): 'peracto quicquid ad cantilenam

illius noctis pertinet euangelique antiphona finita nihilque iam cereorum luminis remanente' (emphasis added). On the form and development of the ritual, see MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, pp. 16-132; also Hughes, § 906, Hardison, *Christian Rite*, pp. 118-19, and Andrieu, *Introduction to OR XVI* (III, 313-20).

76 propter discessuni ueri Solisrepo/corn uelatur fElfric's treatment of the symbolism of *Tenebrae* resembles the Amalarian matter in other RI manuscripts (drawn from Lib.off. IV.xxii.l) only very generally. His reliance on a variant version like that in R 1(Sa), pp. 20-1, is manifest:

Die, frater mi, quem imitaris quando hunt numerum tsril. extinctionum) tenes?

Quern, frater, nisi solum [rig] ilium qui .xxiiii. horis diem complet, unde air Salomon: 'Oretur sol et occidir et ad locum suum reuertitur, or iterum oriat' [Eccl. 1.51, Ipse sol qui ad lucent morralibus datus est ortu suo et occasu cotidie interitum mundi demunstrar ... Omnibus notum est diem atque noctem uolui in xxiiii. horis.

Quid, frater, pertinet causa de qua agimus ut extinguantur candelae?

Dicam, frater, si Deus permiscrit. Candelae ripum gerunt solis. Absentia solis facra urimus candelis pro sole absenre. Sol namque ripum gestat saluatoris, de quo scriptum est: 'Timentibus nomen eius orietur sol iustitiae' [cf. Mal. IV.2}, Occubuit sol iustitiae. Sol creatura non potes uidere creatorem suum pendentem in ligno ... Vt reor, animaduertis extinctionem candelarum nostram per orbem monstrare luctum.

Cur, mi adelfe, quoniam sol iustitiae semel occubuit, nobis agere per tres noctes precipis? Aspice, frater, si dicat tibi euangelium a sexta horn tenebras factas usque Al oram [sic] nonam; quod spatium, nisi fallor, .iii. noctes per tres horas significatas sanciant ... Est return teneto per tres noctes extinctionem candelarum quia et tuns sol triduo sepulchre uelatur.

The anonymous compiler has adopted the controlling metaphor of Christ the 'Sun' whose arrest and execution (metaphorically his 'setting') are dramatically symbolized in the act of extinguishing twenty-four candles. The title 'sun of righteousness' comes from the book of Malachi (IV.2), while the evangelists record a darkening of

the sun at Christ's death on the cross (Luke XXIII.44-5; also Matt. XXVIL45 and Mark XV.33). Linkage of the darkness at the crucifixion to the title 'sun of righteousness' occurs in expositions of Ps. CIII.19, 'sol cognouit occasum suum' (see, e.g., Caesarius of Arles, *Sermmner*, editio altera, ed. G. Morin, CCSL 103 (Turnhout, 1953) I, Ps. CIII, pars 3; also Augustine, *Enarratione.r in psa/rruu*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 40 (Turnhout, 1956) III, Ps. CIII, sermo 3, pars 22). While the tradition here represented by R1(Sa) and the LIME has surprisingly little in common with Amalarius's abridged teaching in the standard RI version, it has abundant parallels in other medieval liturgical commentaries; cf. the tenth-century *Liber de diuini.r offzciis* of pseudo-Alcuin, c. XVIII (PL 101, 1209): 'Tenebrae luminum ideo extinctione figurantur, quia tune uera lux mundi occubuit, et tenebrae totum mundum operuerunt'; likewise Durandus, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* VI.lxxii.15 and 17.

The sources of the passage in R1(Sa) are, again, largely biblical, but the possibility deserves mention that the anonymous compiler may have had access to authentic Amalarian material not included in the *Retractatio prima*. Both major editions of the *Liber officialis* issued prior to Amalarius's journey to Rome in 831 had included a much richer treatment of the service of *Tenebrae*, showing more similarities to the passage quoted above than does the printed text of *Lib.off.* IV.xxii.l. Amalarius drastically revised and 'Romanized' his earlier teaching for the third edition, however, which in turn served as the basis for R1. The earlier, unrevised readings from the first and second editions are printed in a separate appendix by Hanssens (*AEOLO* II, 545-60, at p. 552):

(1) Quod lumen ecclesiae extinguitur in his noctibus, uidetur nobis aptari ipsi soli iustitiae, qui extinctus est et sepultus tribus diebus et tribus noctibus... Sol qui praesentem mundum inluminat, per diem et noctem uiginti quattuor horis perlustrat orbem suum . . . (2) Igitur per singulas noctes memoratarum feriarum uiginti quattuor lumina accenduntur; et quia ipse sol significat rolem nostrum, qui occubuit uespere passionis, per lumen quod nos possumus accendere et extinguere instar ortus solis et occasus, demonstramus ortum et occubitu ueri solis aliquo modo. Inluminatur nostra ecclesia uiginti quattuor luminibus, et per singula cantica, in quibus nobis oportebat exultare, decidimus mestitia, quia uenu sol Hotter occubuit, et sic quasi per singulas horas defectus Solis augetur usque ad plenam extinctionem. Hoc enim fit ter, quia triduo recolitur sepultura Domini. (*Lect.discr.long.* I.21.1-2, emphasis

added)

Certain details in RI(Sa) and ,Elfric are closer to Amalarius's prior treatment of this subject than to the revised form found in the third edition (and hence the R1): predominant is the image of Christ 'the Sun', who is extinguished and buried in the tomb for three days. The earlier form of the Liber officialis, like R1(Sa), also emphasizes the number of hours in each day, rather than the total of the three days.

177 finita ultima antiphon in euuangelio That is, at the conclusion of the canticle 'Benedictus' (Luke 1.68-79) and its proper antiphon. The term euangelium is commonly used for both the 'Benedictus' at Lauds and the 'Magnificar' (Luke L46-55) at Vespers.

1~a duos pueros . . . 'Christus . . . usque ad mortem' On the sources of this custom, see RC (Symons), p. 36, n. 6. YElfric's instructions for this special choral devotion are essentially those of RC 61, although he substitutes the directions 'in australi / boreali portico' for 'in dextera / sinistra parte'. Like IElfric, the fragmentary Old English translation of the Concordia in CCCC 201 similarly uses 'to pan suoportice ... on pam norþportice' (Tin weiteres Bruchstück', ed. Zupitza, p. 6, lines 45-7). The Concordia also implies that pueri shall sing all the non-choral parts, while YElfric assigns the third part ('Domine miserere nobis') to two monks. In the LME this custom is not optional, as it is in the Concordia, where mention of the elaborated chant is prefaced by a verbose apology, whose first-person verbs may express ,Ethelwold's own reservations (see RC (Kornexl), pp. xlvii-xlviii). In the Concordia the description of this special 'Kyrie' also introduces an allegorical justification for its inclusion after Tenebrae: 'ut tenebrarum terror, qui tripertitum mundum dominica passione timore perculit insolito, ac apostolicae predicationis consolatio, quae uniuersum mundum Christum patri usque ad mortem pro generis humani salute oboedientem reuelauerat, manifestissime designetur'. It is peculiar that 2Elfric imports so much allegorical exposition from Amalarius yet seems to have omitted what little of it was already present in the Concordia (but see LME 53 and commentary below, at n. 271).

DEC 7 (manuscript 0 only) provides a slightly different and more detailed set of instructions for the special 'Kyrie': in each of the three repetitions, the two boys at the west end of the church sing these verses: (1) 'Qui passurus aduenisti propter nos: miserere nobis'; (2) 'Qui propheticæ promissisti, Ero mors tua, O mors: Domine miserere nobis'; and (3) 'Vita in ligno moritur; infernus ex morsu

expoliatur: Domine miserere nobis.' This fuller form in DEC (0) includes all but one of the verses recorded for a similar ritual inserted in two of Hesbert's monastic antiphoners after Lauds of Holy Saturday (see CAO 11, no. 74c). The entire rite, similar in detail to DEC 7 (0), is also found on p. 562 of CCCC 422 ('The Red Book of Darley', Winchester, s. xi-11).

179 Et .ri ... recleant requiem Verbatim from RC 62, which nevertheless allows that those who so desire may remain awake and silent as an act of 'spiritual discipline' (spirituali exercitio).

LME 34 Triduum customs, various; cf. RC 63, 64, 76 and 72

rso tabulam Not mentioned at RC 63, but frequently elsewhere in the source. Symons (RC (Symons) p. 20, n. 11) defines this device as a 'wooden instrument used to give the signal for manual labour ... for the Maundy . . . and in connection with deaths' (see, respectively, RC 32, 53 and 83; 35; 99, 102 and 103). Tifric uses the term only here and at LME 69 (announcing the death of a monk from another monastery). The present instance, however, falls outside of the occasions when, according to Symons, the tabula was used. Evidently it was also struck during the Triduum to summon the monks to worship, since the bells were not to be rung during this time: see Lrb.ofj. IV.xxi.7; cf. ON dymbildagar 'wooden-clapper days' as an equivalent for the Triduum (discussed by Frank, 'A Note', pp. 180-1).

181 more canonico, etc. fElfric and his source (RC 63) take for granted the custom of substituting the secular for the monastic Office during the last three days of Holy Week and on Easter itself. A lf ric refers to the secular nrerrlr in terms borrowed from the source: more cunonico as here and at LME 34, 45, 46 and 47; or, less obviously equivalent, 'secundum auctoritatem beati Gregorii papae' - referring to Gregory the Great's supposed authorship of the secular Office antiphoner (LME 47). Prime begins directly (i.e., without the usual opening dialogue) with its psalmody, Ps. LIII ('Deus in nomine tuo') and the first two secular subdivisions of Ps. CXVIII (i.e., verses 1-16 and 17-32). 1Elfric does not provide details for the rest of this and the remaining hours, except to note (in the next sentence) that they too shall be said 'more canonico'. The secular disposition of the psalms is given in greater derail in the source (RC 63). On the use of the secular Office in this period, see Tolhurst, pp. 212-16; on the origins of this custom and its transmission to the LME via the Concordia, see Symons, 'Sources', pp. 15-21.

182 'Deus in nomine tuo' Ps. LIII.

183 Beati immaculati' risque Legem pone' The first two divisions of Ps. CXVIII according to the secular cursus: 'Beati immaculati' (verses 1-16) and 'Retribue' (verses 17-32), with 'Legem pone' (verse 33) marking the beginning of the third division. In the monastic Office, the divisions of Ps. CXVIII are only half as long and differently distributed (i.e., verses 1-8, 9-16 and so on).

184 psallant psalterium ... agant prostrate Verbatim from RC 64.

185 omnes horas ... exceptis nocturnis Distilled from the description of the secular cursus at RC 63 and 76; cf. Briefe 1.127-8 and 111.26-7. In addition to the substitution of the secular forms, the Office is marked by the increased use of silent and private recitation (except for the service of Tenebrae).

186 nudipedalia usquequo crux adoretur For this provision Tifric skips ahead in the source to RC 72. The ceremonial Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday is described at LME 43, below.

LME 35 The washing of the altars; cf. RC 65; variant Lib.off. in R1(Sa), p. 22

187 Facto ... donec lauetur Dependent on RC 65, with some rewording.

188 intellegimus lauacionem . . . erga fratrem suum The same teaching is found verbatim in R1 (Sa), p. 22. The compiler of that text may, in turn, have based his comments on Lib.off. I.xii.36 and 39, the latter part of which was not, however, included as part of the original R1.

LME 36 Paupers' mass and maundy; cf. RC 66

189 missa pauperibus ante ad hoc collectis A later provision (LME 62), also taken over from the Concordia, implies that a number of the poor were regularly fed and sheltered by the monks.

190 uirorum tantum The explicit restriction to men only (for which I have found no analogues) interrupts an otherwise close quotation of RC 66.

LME 37 The new fire; cf variant Lib.off. in R1(Sa), p. 22

191 in illa massa fragili ... ignis requiratur Not found in the standard texts of the Liber officialis or R1, but verbatim in R1(Sa), p. 22, where

it occurs as part of a lengthy theological treatment of this topic, the finer points of which are lost in IElfric's abridgement. The equation of the new fire with the rekindling of the Holy Spirit in the human heart is much clearer in the full context of RI(Sa), which also explains that the fire is rekindled on each of the three days to symbolize that the Spirit is sent and 'extinguished' three times: bestowed first on the patriarchs, it was lost in Egypt; it was given next through the law, which came to an end in Christ; poured out, finally, on Pentecost, it will grow cold in the last days (here Matt. XXIV.12 is quoted). For this material I find no close parallels - in particular for the striking use of Dan. 11.341, 'de monte sine manibus' - in other medieval liturgical commentaries. RC 67 calls for the kindling of a fire on each of the three (lays of the Triduum, but is not otherwise close. The nearest approximation of the ritual in Amalarius's writings is his description of the kindling and extinguishing of the fire on Good Friday at Rome (Lib.off. IV.xxii.2), which is actually a different ceremony altogether. Several of the Ordines romani require that at the church entrance a new fire be struck from a rock on each of the three days, and in some minor respects the wording of RI(Sa) and the LME agrees more closely with these ordines than with the Regularis concordia. See, eg.: OR XXV1.3-5 and 14, OR XXVII1.25-7, OR XXIX.14-16, OR L.xxv.1 I (= PRG XCIX.215); also pseudo-Alcuin, Liber de diuinis officijs, c. XVI-XVII [sic] (PL 101, 1205). All of these analogues agree with the LAZE in using forms of the phrase ignis de lapide as against ignis ale silice of RC 67. Other expositors commenting on it similar ritual (the kindling of a new fire at the beginning of the Faster Vigil) equate the rock with Christ and the spark or resulting fire with the Holy Spirit: see Durandus, Rationale diuinorum officiorum VI_lxxx.I: '[ignis] nouns Ile lapide percusso cum calibe ... debet elici ... de lapide, id est de Christo, qui est lapis angularis, qui uerbere crucis percussus Spiritum sanctum nobis effudit ... nouns ignis elicitor, dum per eius passionem uel resurrectionem Spiritus sanctus effunditur' (fol. 232v); also Iohannes Beleth, Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis, c. CV11 (c) (ed. Douteil 11, 198). This ceremony would take place only on Holy Saturday, however, not on the first two days of the Triduum - though Durandus later acknowledges (Rationale VI_lxxx.2) that in some churches a new fire is kindled on each of the three days of the Triduum. On the widely varying forms of ceremony attending the new fire, see MacGregor, Fire and Light, pp. 135-247.

192 image serpentis ... audentur luminaria ex ea Following his source, IElfric does not impose this ritual as a mandatory practice (RC 67: 'si ita placuerit'). For analogues, see Symons, 'Sources', pp.

25-6, and Hallinger's apparatus to RC 67, 1 12.9. Unlike the Concordia, the LME does not specify that on each day a monk of progressively higher rank shall carry the candle (the *aeditutu* on Thursday, *decanus* on Friday and *praepautru* on Saturday). Reference to the *harundo serpentina* occurs in a great many medieval sources; see MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, pp. 259-66.

LME 38 Principal mass and stripping of the altars on Maundy Thursday; cf. RC 68; variant Li/.off. in RI(Sa), pp. 21-2

195 *non diartur 'Dominus uobhcum' ad missam, etc.* During the Triduum the liturgical greeting '*Dominus uobiscum*' and the kiss of peace are dropped from the mass; cf. Brief 111.31-5. Suppression of large portions of the Office has already been noted at LME 33. For the Chrism Mass here mentioned, as well as for a further allegorical justification for omitting the kiss of peace, see LAZE 39 and commentary.

194 *altaria expoliamus ... uestimentis suit, etc.* Not from the original *Liber officialis* or R1, but found almost verbatim in RI (Sa), pp. 21-2:

Age, frater, dic: cur precipis altaria expoliare a uespere quintae feriae usque mane sabbati? Dominus enim tunc expoliatus est uestimento suo et tu quaeris gloriari in uestimento? Nuda sunt eo tempore in quibus solemus Deo oblationes offerre quoniam expoliatus est ille per quem acceptabilis fit Deo oblatio nostra. De illo enim scriptum est: 'Tunc milites presidis suscipientes Iesum in pretorio congregauerunt ad eum uniuersam cohortem, et exuentes eum' [Matt. XXVII.27-81].

This interpretation may have been prompted by the liturgy itself, especially if, by this date, the verse '*Diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea et super uestem meam miserunt sortem*' (Ps. XXI.19) was the antiphon chanted with Ps. XXI ('*Deus Deus meus*') during the denudatio ceremony (see Schmidt, p. 777, whose earliest source, however, is the *Missale Lateranense* of c. 1230; cf. Hughes, § 923). These typological associations will figure prominently again at a second 'stripping' during the reading of the Passion gospel on Good Friday (see below, n. 217). The custom of stripping the altars is briefly mentioned in the second Old English pastoral letter to Wulfstan (Brief 111.29).

1vs *Nuda tint altaria ... oblatio nostra* Verbatim as in RI(Sa), quoted in the previous note. The term *oblatio* and the phrase *fieri acceptabilis* appropriately echo the offertory prayers of the mass. The

phrase *eo tempore* ('at that time') must refer not only to the time after Vespers but to the whole period from the *denudatio* until the Great Vigil. In effect, no mass could take place on a 'naked' altar. The Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday (see LME 44) was a special case, since it did not actually involve consecration of the eucharist.

196 crisma ab episcopo sacrandum est, etc. The description of an episcopal rite is, strictly speaking, out of place in a customary for any house other than a monastic cathedral, and even there the more obvious place for such instructions would be the pontifical (Hughes, § 921). .Elfric's inclusion of this material probably reflects a scholarly interest in the rite itself and in the unusual exposition provided by his exemplar of the *Retractatio prima*. While a monk at the Old Minster s lfric would have witnessed the Chrism Mass annually, yet in both LME 39 and the comparable portions of the pastoral letters (Briefe 3.1-9 and 20-2; Ill. 1-9 and 37; cf. 2a.ix-x) he gives only a general outline of the constituent ceremonies. His typical dependence on the wording of the pseudo-Amalarian material in R1(Sa) warrants the suspicion, moreover, that LME 39 reflects its immediate written source more than klfiric's memory of the actual rite performed at Winchester. The bare provisions of LME 39 are that (i) three oils shall be blessed: the oil of the sick, the chrism and the oil of catechumens (the third oil is not named explicitly in the LME but identified in the source, and further as *oleum sanctum* / halig ele at Briefe 3.4-5 and 111.2 and 5); (ii) the chrism shall contain oil mixed with balsam; (iii) the bishop shall bless the oil of the sick before he communicates, and the two remaining oils after he communicates but before communion is given to the people; (iv) the first and third blessings shall be performed inaudibly, the second out loud; finally, (v) some act of special reverence is made to the vessels containing the newly blessed oils. These features represent the version of the rite largely standard in Romano-Frankish sources by this date; on its development in the *Ordines romani*, the sacramentaries and the Romano-German Pontifical, see the excellent survey by Maier, *Die Feier der Missa chrisnratis*, ch. 1, §§ 1-2. Much of the late Anglo-Saxon evidence, however, belongs to a different tradition. The comparable ordines in *Pont.Egh.*, pp. 128-30, *Pont.Lan.*, pp. 81-2, and *Ilen.ARoh.*, pp. 13-15, all derive from a seventh-century Roman orclo for Holy Thursday. See A. Chavassee, 'A Rome, le jeudi-saint, an Vile siicle, d'aprees un vieil ordo', *Recite l'histoire erclesiastique* 50 (1955), 21-35; also Banting's introduction to *Pont.Egh.*, pp. xxvi-xxix, and Maier, *Die Feier der Missa rhrismatis*, pp. 66-75. The allegorical teaching blended with the instructions in A'lfric's source, R1(Sa), pp. 22-7, is highly unusual and bears little resemblance to the equivalent parts of the authentic *Liher officialis* (I.xii.2-31 - only a fraction of which was, in any case, included in R1). The remarkable extent of the additions here in

RI(Sa) bespeaks its compiler's judgement that the standard R1 did not do the Chrism Mass justice. A]lfric adapts only a small part of the entire teaching in RI(Sa), which includes extensive commentary on many details of the ceremony.

1" quia eo die ... discipulis contradidit Verbatim as in RI(Sa), p. 23. The reference to the institution of the sacraments occurs in much the same form at Briefie 3.2 and 2a.viii, though these use the phrase *charismata noui tertamenti* for the plainer *sacramenta eccleriae* of the LMF. The institution of the eucharist on this day is an obvious tradition; less clear is the justification for associating the blessing of the oils with the same occasion. On this point, RI(Sa) is just as obscure as fElfric. One medieval tradition claimed that anointing with oil was implicit in Christ's 'baptismal' act of washing the disciples' feet (Maier, *Die Feier der Missa chrisnatic*, p. 144), while another associated the blessing of the oils with the anointing of Jesus's feet 'ante biduum Paschae' by Mary of Bethany: see, e.g., Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.xxix.2 (ed. C. M. Lawson, CCSL 1 13 (Turnhout, 1989), 32); Hrabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione* 11.36 (PL 107, 347); and pseudo-Alcuin, *Liher de cliuinis offuiis*, c. XVIXVII [sic] (PL 101, 1205).

1'8 primum uas ... Sratiant curationum A fusion of two separate sentences lifted almost verbatim from the variant Lih.off., as in RI(Sa), p. 23. The argument of this passage is not entirely clear in the source, and /Elfric's abridgement makes it harder still. The first vessel is associated with the Old Testament, the latter two with the New. The identity of the antigri patrev is less ambiguous in RI (Sa): 'Vt Heliseus quoniam [?fir quondam] Naaman Sirum a lepra mundauit [cf. IV Reg. V.1-11] et filium uiduae resuscitauit [cf. III Reg. XVII.7-74], etcetera.'

199 quia Christus solus ... Passionis hihit Almost verbatim from the variant Lih.off., as in RI(Sa), p. 24: 'Solus episcopus communicat antequam benedicantur duo commem- orata uascula. Solus enim Chrisrus suum corpus optulit [sic] Den Patri et accepit calicem, id est Passionem ...'

2x0 et postea ... crismatis et olei sni Tlfric continues to follow the source as preserved in R1(Sa), p. 24. The sentence returns to the introductory emphasis on associating the blessing of oils with the institution of the eucharist (see above, n. 197).

201 'misericordia . . . obuiauuerunt' Ps. LXXXIV. 11; the echo is part of a larger reliance on the source; cf. R1(Sa), p. 23: 'Et ideo non solum

oleum inuenitur in chrismate, sed et balsamum, quoniam lex, quamuis per gratiam Dei esset, tamen in umbra erat, quamuis misericordia Dei in illis (sic) esset, ueritatem tamen in Christo expectabat. In Christo enim nunc homine balsamum et oleum mixtum est quia "misericordia et ueritas" in Christo "sibi obuauerunt".¹ I find no parallels for the striking use of this psalm verse in any other medieval commentaries on the rite.

202 Media uero . . . `Non nosmetipsos . . . red Iesum Christum'
Adapted with slight alterations from the source; cf. RI(Sa), p. 24: 'et medium [scil. uasculum], id est mediator, excelsa uoce quoniam unum hominem tantum precicamus, de quo dicit Paulus: "Non nosmet ipsos predicamus sed Iesum Christum" [II Cor. IV.5].'

203 Et seruent ... sanctificare sacrificium That is, they shall preserve consecrated bread sufficient for communion at the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday. The instruction is commonplace, but 'Elfric probably inserted the point here under the influence of his source; cf. RI(Sa), p. 27: 'Quod postea precipitur seruare de sancta usque in crastinum ideo fecit quia sequenti die non canimus specialem orationem "Te igitur" in qua continetur consecratio panis et uini ut fiat corpus et sanguis.' Cf. the parallel at Brief 111.37.

204 osculum ... tradidit Christum Adapted from Amalarius, Lib. off. I.xiii.18:

Similiter et a pacis osculo in istis diebus nos abstinemus, non quod pacis osculum malum sit, ubi ex caritate uera profertur, sed ut demonstretur quam iniuriam passus sit Christus a suo proditore, ut et nos uitemus eandem iniuriam in fratribus. Quod dico, tale est: locution et opere debemus subditis monstrare uitandum esse malum Iudae.

The ceremonial kiss of peace was not exchanged during the Triduum, except between the bishop and his attending priests at the Chrism Mass (thus LME 38, from RC 68). In the source (including RI and RI(Sa)) the equation with Judas's kiss occurs in Amalarius's treatment of the Good Friday liturgy, though jElfric inserts it at the end of his Chrism Mass ordo. He had already encountered similar teaching in the source-passage for LME 33, where the variant Lib.off. had discouraged all manner of liturgical greeting during the Triduum; cf. RI(Sa), p. 19: 'Aut numquid uis more proditoris Iudae hac in nocte salutare tuum pastorem, et ille tibi dicat, "Osculo filium hominis tradis?" [Luke XXII.481, et audias poeticum, "Quid socium simulas et amica fraude salutas?" [Sedulius, Carmen

paschale V.661?' (this replacing in RI(Sa) the teaching of Lib.off. IV.xxi.6). IElfric's paraphrase of this instruction agrees in essence with the source, including its firstperson exhortation that heightens the sense of participation in the gospel narrative; cf. commentary to LME 22 (at n. 88), 24 (at n. 93), 25 (at n. 103), 26 (at n. 106), 32 (at n. 168), 33 (at n. 171) and 43 (at n. 219). The omission of the peace is also mentioned in the second Old English pastoral to Wulfstan (*Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, Brief 111.35).

LME 40 Maundy Thursday, continued; cf. RC 69

205 *mixtum* The drink normally taken only by the servers and reader in refectory; see RC (Symons), p. xxxvi. Both /Elfric and the Concordia grant this drink to all the brothers on Maundy Thursday.

206 *scum peragal mandatum* This is not the brothers' daily foot-washing or that of the poor (LME 41 and 36, respectively), but a special observance apparently unique to the Concordia and LME; see RC (Symons), p. 40, n. 2.

LME 41 Maundy Thursday, continued; cf. RC 70

207 *ad refectionern pergant z lfric* hardly ever mentions the monks' meals, although it is reasonable to assume an arrangement comparable to that found in the Concordia, which allows one meal in the evening throughout Lent; see RC (Symons), p. xxxv.

LME 42 Maundy Thursday, continued; cf. RC 71

208 *signo collationis* The collatio, an additional service of reading, took place before Compline. The name derives from RSB, c. XLII.3: 'et legat onus collationes uel uitas patrum aut certe aliud, quod aedificet audientes'. fElfric mentions the service only here (prompted by RC 71), but the term is also used at RC 36 and 76.

209 'Ante diem festum' John XIII.Iff., only as far as verse 15, according to RC (Symons), p. 41, n. 1. The reading is continued in the refectory after collatio, as both the Concordia and LME indicate.

210 *caritatem* In the Concordia the term *caritas* in this limited sense is used for the ritual, including a drink, after the regular Saturday maundy (RC 35); see RC (Symons), pp. xxxvi-xxxvii and 23, n. 2; also RC (Kornexl), pp. 238-9 (commentary to line 550) and p. 298 (commentary to lines 1006-10). Even though IElfric uses the term

here for the drink on Maundy Thursday without the authority of his source, the teaching is the same; cf. RC 71: 'abbas propinando circumeat fratres cum singulis potibus'.

LME 43 Good Friday; cf. Lib.off. I.xiii.1 and 3; RC 73 (also perhaps Lib.off. Li.16 and I.xiii.12); variant Lib.off. in R1(Sa), pp. 28-30; Lib.off. I.xiv.1 e Lect. disc r. long. 11.8

211 Amalarius . . . operari Adapted from Amalarius. Lib.off I.xiii.1: 'Parascheue, or Beda [ut Beda om. RI], praeparatio interpretatur. Quo nomine iudaei qui inter Grecos conuersabantur, sextam sabbati, quae mine a nobis sexta feria uocatur, appellabant, quod eo uidelicet die quae in sabbato fuerint necessaria praepararent ...' The ultimate source of the quotation is Bede's *Expositio in Lucam* for verse XXIII.54 (Beda's *Venerabilis Opera*, Pars II: *Opera Exegetica* 3, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 409). The inclusion of this brief passage is consistent with IElfric's pedagogical concern to clarify technical terminology, here the Greek *paraskeue*, as well as the historical circumstance of the Jewish prohibition of work on the Sabbath. The manuscript reading *que est Parasceue*, which leaves the subject of the sentence (*Feria sexta*) without a main verb, has required minor emendation (see the textual apparatus). Such awkwardness may hint at a scribal error or corruption in the exemplar, although IElfric's own method of mixing abridgement and paraphrase could sometimes lead to syntactic slips of this kind.

212 in tribulatione sua mane' Hosea VI.1-6. Amalarius's original text reverses the order of this reading and the following one from Exodus (see below, n. 214). YElfric's series of lessons and tracts conforms to a standard arrangement (as in Brief 111.39; cf. *Miss.RJum.*, p. 88). On the evidence of some RI manuscripts, including the version RI (Sa), it is clear that Amalarius's original (and obsolete) arrangement was commonly adapted to the 'Gregorian' standard. It may be supposed, then, that IElfric's exemplar of the *Liber officialis* did not require correction on this point, and that his citation of the readings, tracts and collects in LME 43 follows the R1 and not RC 73. IElfric's reliance on the former is also confirmed by the introductory phrase about the abbot's taking his seat, which echoes an interpolation ('*primitus sedente pontifice*') common to RI manuscripts (and likewise R1(Sa), p.28).

213 Domine audiui'... `Deus a quo et Iudas' AMS, no. 78a, and *Sacr.Greg.*, no. 328.

214 'Dixit Dominus ad Moysen et Aaron', in qua agnus ... immolatur Verbatim from Amalarius, Lib.off. I.xiii.3; the reading is Exodus

215 Tripe me Domine' AMS, no. 78a.

216 tractus a trahendo ... 'emisit spiritum' Perhaps influenced by Lib.off. I.xiii.12 ('Dein sequitur passio. In ea uelut ipsum Christum in truce uidemus'), plus a phrase from a wholly different context at Li.16 ('A trahendo dicitur tractus'), but the similarities are admittedly not very close. At this point R1 (Sa) follows the other R1 manuscripts and does not offer any closer parallel. The final words *emisit spiritum* echo Matt. XXVII.50, though Matthew's was not the version of the Passion read on Good Friday.

217 in modum furantis . . . sortem mittentes This ritual and the phrase in modum / modo furantis occur commonly in ordines, including RC 73. 'Elfric's added reference to the soldiers' division of Christ's garments and the echo of Ps. XXI.19 (also quoted in the Passion reading at John XIX.24) harken back to his comments on the stripping of the altars after Vespers on Maundy Thursday (LME 38; see above, n. 194). The association of this Good Friday ritual, too, with the division of Christ's garments mentioned at Maundy Thursday is not found in the standard Lib.off. or R1, but occurs prominently in R1(Sa), pp. 28-9:

Vt prediximus ista expoliatio altaris aut apostolorum desolationem significat aut sui corporis expoliationem. Et bene bis leguntur duae expoliationes altaris quia bis redemptor poster expoliatus est, dicente euangelio: 'Et exuentes eum ... [full quotation of Matt. XXVII.281.] Haec iterata indutio uestimentorum significat iteratum cooperimentum altaris usque dum in eo euangelium iacet. Ablato inde euangelio aufertur et eius cooperimentum sicut et hic scriptum est de uestimentis saluatoris nostri: 'Postquam autem crucifixerunt eum diuiserunt uestimenta eius sortem mittentes', et cetera [Matt. XXVII.35; cf. Ps. XXI.191.

It is easy to see how the significance of these two 'strippings' could be conflated, and their shared associations are commonplace in treatises other than the authentic *Liber officialis*: e.g., pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber de diuinis officio*, c. XVIII (PL 101, 1209); Durandus, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* VI.lxxvii.10. Interestingly, a similar linkage occurs in the partial translation of the *Concordia* preserved in CCCC 201: 'bonne moll raede "Partiti cunt uestimenta mea", ha twegen diaconas, he standac3 on twa healfe hxs altares, toteon hxt getreagode hrxgl, he up on ham altare lig6 under bare Cristes her, on ,bcet gemet, be liter haciendas reaf todceled u,et'

('Ein weiteres Bruchstbck', ed. Zupitza, p. 16, lines 222-6, emphasis added).

218 orationes .rollempnes ... orauit in cruce The orationes solemrres are a long series of intercessions and collects for various intentions; the precise form is specified in neither the LME nor the Concordia, but see *Sacr.Greg.*, nos. 338-55; also *Corp.41*, pp. 90-1, *Leofr,Miss.*, pp. 95-6, *Miss.RJum.*, pp. 88-90, *Mis.cStAug.*, pp. 37-9, and *Winch.Sacr.*, nos. 374-91. Alfric appears to be following RC 73 closely. The reference to Jesus's praying on the Cross probably refers to Luke XXIII.34, quoted at *Lib.off. Lxiii.15*, included as part of the RI.

219 Illi enim inridentes ... pro eis orando The absence of a genuflection at the prayer *pro perfidir ludeis* is commonplace in ordines for this day (e.g. OR XXIV3; XXV11.39; OR XXV11.13; OR XXIX.33; OR XXXL41 and PRG XCIX.310). Surprisingly, the instruction not to genuflect at the prayer for the Jews is absent from RC 73, although it has been inserted at the appropriate place among the excerpts constituting DEC 8.)Elfric's justifying argument is closest to R1(Sa), p. 31, which is a slight adaptation of *Lib. off. L.xiii.17*. The variant version in R1 (Sa) reads:

Per omnes orationes genuflexionem facimus, ut per hunt habitum corporis mentis humilitatem ostendamus, excepto quando oramus pro perfidis ludaeis. Fugiamus eorum consensum qui Dominum irrident. Illi irridentes genua punebant in terra, sicut scriptum esc 'Et genu flexo ante rum illudebant dicenres "Aue rex ludeorum"' [*Mart. XXVII.291*].

That Amalarius's account of this practice gained a certain currency is attested by its inclusion in some of the most widely read liturgical commentaries: e.g., pseudoAlcuin, *Liber de diuinis officiis*, c. XVIII (PL 101, 1210); Durandus, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* VI.lxxvii.13; and Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, c. XCVIII. No commentator appears to have raised the objection that, according to three of the evangelists, it was the soldiers of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem rather than the Jews who mockingly knelt before Jesus and hailed him as 'King of the Jews' (*Matt. XXVII.27-9*, *Mark XV. 16-9*, *John XIX.2-3*; cf. *Luke XXII.63-5*). The version in R1(Sa) has altered Amalarius's original teaching only slightly - most noticeably by 'improving' his scriptural allusions (cf. LME 33 and above, n. 171) and by inserting the first-person exhortation 'Fugiamus eorum consensum' etc. The present tense makes the admonition both timeless (to shun those who mock the

Lord on any occasion) and urgently present (to avoid being, in the scheme of sacred history, an anti-type of those who crucified Christ). The result continues a pattern of emphasis that T-Ifric deliberately incorporated into his customary, viz., to bridge the historical distance between the monks' Holy Week liturgy and the original events of Christ's Passion; cf. also commentary to LME 22 (at n. 88), 24 (at n. 93), 25 (at n. 103), 26 (at n. 106), 32 (at n. 168) and 33 (at n. 171) and 39 (at n. 204).

220 deportetur crux ... per ordinem salutent Perhaps from Amalarius, Lib. off. Lxiv.1, with the interpolated RI ending (Hanssens's Lect.discr.long. II.8): 'Post hoc monet libellus memoratus ut praeparetur crux ante altare, quam saturant et osculantur omnes {presbiteri, diatom et ceteri per ordinem RI}.' Compared to the Regularis concordia, the LME provides only scanty instructions for the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday. Cf. RC 73-4, which prescribes a lengthy adoration and gives a detailed account of the proper chants and prayers, which may then be followed by an elaborate ceremony of the 'burial' of the cross (depositio crucis); see also Brief 111.43-9, which confirms iElfric's familiarity with the entire ritual described in the Concordia. The simplified ceremony of the LME may have better suited Eynsham, with its small numbers and, perhaps, limited ranks of higher clergy. Where the adoration service in the Regularis concordia assumes the presence of deacons, subdeacons, acolytes and a schola cantorum, iElfric refers only to 'cantors' who both carry the cross and sing the appointed chants, which by this time had perhaps found their way into the gradual and so did not need to be given here in full. For the sources of these rites and secondary literature, see the extensive apparatus to the CCM edition (7.3, 116-18) and Hardison, Christian Rite, pp. 137-8; see also L. Gjerlow, Adoratio Crucis: the Regularis Concordia and the Decreta Lanfranci: Manuscript Studies in the Early Medieval Church of Norway (Oslo, 1961).

LME 44 The Mass of the Presanctified; cf. RC 75; variant Lib.off. in RI (Sa), pp. 31-4; significant analogues at Briefe 1.122-6 and 111.50-4

22! ponat diaconus corporals ... mixto uino non consecrato These two minor details are not included at RC 75, but Brief 1.122 refers to both the corporal and the mixed wine; Brief 111.50 refers to the corporal and the wine, but omits the addition of water. On the complex interrelations here among the Concordia, the LME and the pastorals, see above, pp. 25-6.

222 Corpus Christi solummodo . . . per corpus et sanguinem eius

Elfric's enigmatic teaching is illuminated by its source, the variant Lib.off., as in RI(Sa), pp. 31-4. IElfric has excised his quotation from a long, complex discussion that cannot be quoted in full here. Its major point, however, is to justify the presence of both bread and wine at the Good Friday Mass of the Presanctified, even though only the bread, preserved from the previous day, serves as the consecrated element. According to the argument, wine symbolizes the animating soul that must be present in order for the bread to be the living, not the dead, Body of Christ. Many incidental details of this ceremony are addressed during the course of discussion, but the rhetorical climax is the summation at RI (Sa), p. 33, which s lfric quotes with minor adaptations:

Vivit uero et non uidebit mortem [cf. Ps. LXXXVIII.49], unde cotidie laetamur in spe. Si non credidissemus sum uere mortuum else, corpus eius non dimissemus sine sanguine eius [referring to the reservation of the bread alone]; et si non crederemus eius ueram resurrectionem non item presentaremus uinum et aquam Lit haberemus sacramenta uiucnris hominis in nobis per corpus et sanguinem eius.

The sources of this remarkable teaching are unknown. During the course of his career, Amalarius substantially altered his own reaching about the reservation of the sacrament for the Mass of the Presanctified, but none of his known versions is close to that in 1Z1(Sa); see Lib.off I.xii.34 and cf. l.xv.l and Ilanssens's Lect.discrdong. 1.3. There are some inconclusive similarities between RI(Sa) and one of 7Elfric's wellknown sources, the Liber de corpore et sanguine domini of Paschasius Radbertus, C. XIX (PL 120, 1327-9).

225 in his ... oportet That is, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, known as the triduunz sacrum. RC 75 directs that all shall communicate but makes no general statement about the whole Triduum. z lfric's wording instead reflects the variant Lih.off in R1(Sa), p. 31, 'Quod in his tribus festis diebus communicate oporteat . . .' The source-passage emphasizes the need fir the faithful to be united to Christ's suffering body ('in tribularione positum ... Et quanto magis conpatimur, tanto magis Christi corpori adunamur').

LAI E -15 Good Friday: Vespers and afterwards; cf. RC 76

224 more canonh o See above, at n. 181 .

225 'Confitebor tibi Domine'. 'Domine propterea me', 'Eripe me Domine', 'Domine c/antui', 'Voce nra': Pss CXXXVII-CXLI, i.e., the usual five psalms for secular Vespers of Friday. Mfric is more explicit than RC 76 ('Vespertinum officium canat unusquisque prius in loco suo'), where use of the secular crnru must be inferred from the practice laid down earlier (at RC 63) for Maundy Thursday.

IX Easter: the Great Vigil through the Octave (LME 46-8)

LME 46 The Great Vigil; cf. RC 77; Lib.off. Lxviii.1 and perhaps 5; Lxxvii.1-2 and 30; variant Lib.off. in R1(Sa), pp. 54-5; Lib.off. Lxxxi.8

226 *sanctificet diaconus ...* noun line *benedicto* Except for its two brief Atnalarian references, 4dfric's treatment of the complex rituals of the Easter Vigil is a succinct paraphrase of provisions at RC 77. The reference to the new fire that has been blessed' reminds us that, according to LME 37 (from RC 67), the blessing of a new fire has taken place on each of the three evenings of the Triduum. The ceremony of blessing the Paschal candle, including the long chant 'Exultet iam angelica turba caelorum' (mentioned explicitly at RC 77), was largely standardized by this time, although the various components might be scattered over several books (sacramentary, pontifical, gradual, etc.); see the conspectus by Schmidt, pp. 809 -26, and Sacrr.Grq.(Supplementum Antiquum), nos. 1021 -i. The 'Exultet' is copied out in full in Leofr.Miss., pp. 96-7, and Miss.RJum., pp. 90-2; for the blessing of the fire see, e.g., Pont.Egb., pp. 3 and 136; Claud.Pont.I, pp. 67-8; Cant.Ben., pp. 44-5.

227 *qui cereus ... cognoscitur esse* Adapted from Amalarius, Lib. off. Lxviii.1 (perhaps with an echo of Lxviii.5): 'Vt diximus, cera humanitatem Christi designat ... Iste cereus, qui praefigurat humanitatem Christi, inluminatus benedicitur, quia humanitas Christi, postquam assumpta est a diuinitate, semper fuit inluminata ...' Only Amalarius's equation of the Paschal candle with Christ's humanity is found in R1 and R1(Sa). Thus the added reference to Jesus as the 'light of the world' (cf. John VIII.12, IX.5 and XII.46) would appear to be IElfric's own; cf. his similar adaptation of Amalarius's teaching about Candlemas (LME 25; see above, n. 103). The verb *praefigurat* is used imprecisely; my translation 'stands for' reflects the probable meaning (to judge from Amalarius's equivalent *designat*).

228 *constitutionem Sancti Gregorii papae* Hall ('Some Liturgical Notes', pp. 301-2) argues that the 'Gregorian arrangement' of

readings simply indicates a commonly used set of four Old Testament lections: 'In principio creauit' (Gen. 1.1-II.2), 'Factum est in uigilia' (Exodus XIV.24-XV.1), 'Apprehendent septem mulieres' (Isa. IV.1-6) and 'Haec est hereditas' (Isa. LIV.17-LV.11); for this series see *Sacr.Greg.*, nos. 362-7, and Schmidt, pp. 827-37. These are the readings specified at RC 77 (see Symons, 'Sources', pp. 30-1), as well as at DEC 9 and the anonymous Old English ordo preserved in CCCC 190 (printed as 'Anhang I' in *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, pp. 228-30); at IElfric's Brief 111.58 only the incipit of the first reading is given. This same system of readings, together with the usual tracts (see AMS, no. 79a) and collects may be seen in *Miss.RJum.*, pp. 92-3. Hall cites as a further witness *Miss.StAug.* (pp. 39-40), although its value as evidence is complicated by marginal corrections ('Some Liturgical Notes', p. 303, n. 25). Note that this 'Gregorian' series is not used in *Leofr.Miss.*, pp. 97-8, or in *Winch.Sacr.*, nos. 393-407, where we find instead the twelve-lesson scheme that would become standard in the 'Modern Roman' liturgy. The arrangement of four readings survived in the Sarum rite, albeit with a different fourth lection (Deut. XXXI.22-30) than in the earlier 'Gregorian' system; see Hughes, § 929, and the very convenient summary by Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, pp. 78-87. Hall's explanation is convincing, especially with the fuller information of the Concordia to support it. The possibility remains, however, that the phrase *secundum constitutionem sancti Gregorii papae* may mean nothing more than 'in the sacramentary' - just as elsewhere '*secundum auctoritatem beati Gregorii papae*' (LME 47) means simply 'according to the [secular] Office antiphoner'.

229 *septene letaniae*, etc. A litany of the saints in which every petition was repeated seven times (and likewise, also in LME 46, *quinae*, 'five times', and *ternae*, 'three times') is a well-attested custom in processions to and from the font in the Vigils of Easter and Pentecost (cf. LME 5 1). On this form of prayer, see *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 36 and 46-8, with the example at pp. 233-4 (no. XXXI).

230 *Infantes ... pontifex ferebat* Adapted from Amalarius, *Lib.off.* Lxxvii.1-2 and I.xxvii.30:

Syluester papa constituit ut a presbytero ungeretur neofytus in cerebro . . . Beda dicit in tractatu super Actus apostolorum: 'Nam presbyteris, siue extra episcopum seu praesente episcopo, cum haptizant, chrisniate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod at) episcopo fuerit consecratum; non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, cum tradunt Spiritum paraclitum

baptizatis' ... Ipsa crux [oil. the sign of the cross traced in oil on the forehead of the newly confirmed] nullo in loco melius figitur, quam in CO ubi summus pontifex laminam auream, in qua sculptum erat nomen f)ei ineffabile, figebat.

This teaching was included in both RI and RI(Sa), but only in the latter (pp. 51-3) was it moved to a place close to other material relevant to the Easter Vigil. Amalarius took a keen interest in the rites of Christian initiation and devoted several lengthy chapters to these ceremonies, but the adult catechumenate must have been as increasingly rare in his day as it apparently was in Anglo-Saxon England; see S. Foot, "'By Water in the Spirit': the Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England", in *Pastoral Care*, ed. Blair and Sharpe, pp. 171-92, at 186-90. In other contexts, IElfric takes infant baptism for granted (see CH II.iii, ed. Golden, p. 26, lines 257-61). Similarly, in RI(Sa) Amalarius's original emphasis has been qualified by additions and adaptations that acknowledge the norm of infant rather than adult baptism. In fact, from all the Amalarian teachings pertinent to baptism, IElfric includes only this practical direction that priests should anoint the newly baptized on the top of the head (in cerebro) rather than on the forehead (in fronte). (The latter anointing is proper only to the rite of confirmation, an episcopal rather than presbyteral function.) This provision implies that infants were baptized at the Easter Vigil by a priest or priests of the Eynsham community (although LAZE 39 cautions that not all of the rituals IElfric mentions necessarily took place at Eynsham; see above, n. 196). The same instruction occurs at Briefe 3.6 and 111.6, though neither of these includes the justifying reference to the lamina anrea (from Lib.oll. I.xxvii.30), an allusion to a vestment worn by the high priest of the Temple (see Exodus XXVIII.36-8).

20 Cereal ... wl)ientitnn uirginuu Amalarius mentions the candles of the neophytes at the Easter Vigil (e.g., Lib.off I.xxvi.5) but offers no interpretation similar to the one given here. IElfric's treatment depends on a lengthy interpolation in the variant Libel, affcialis, equivalent to RI(Sa), pp. 54-5, beginning 'Postquam autem uestitur infans uestimentis soil, dabitur ei lampas in manu. Iste {sic} lampas coadunatur lampadibus sapientium uirginum, sicut dicitur in euangelio secundum Matheom (sn).' The association with the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Mart. XXVI-13) probably derives, in turn, from the formula 'Accipe lampadem', found in some sacramentaries, recited at the presentation of a candle to the newly baptized. See *Sacr.Greg.*, no. 120*, *Wimlzsacr.*, no. 437, and *Alir_s,RJuw.*, pp. 99-100. The development of this theme in RI(Sa)

includes extensive moral and anagogical comment on the parable based on Gregory's *XL Llonmiliae in Euangelia*, no. XII (PL 76, 1118-23).

'Aacndite' ter RC 77 does not stipulate 'three times', although this information could have been contained in the gradual. The qualifying ter has also been added at DEC 9. On the *ntagisterscholae*, see commentary to LAZE 2 (at n. 13), above.

Sequitur collecta ... euuangelium The collect and epistle indicated by incipit at RC 77 are 'Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem' (Snst.Gre~, no. 377) and 'Si consurrexistis' (Col. III.1-4). The gospel reading is not specified. Symons (RC (Symons), p. 48, n. 11) infers from DEC 9 that the lection was 'Cum transisset sabbatum' (Mark XVI.1-7), but this part of the DEC is an interpolation from Lib. off. I.xxxi.8, where the reference to Mark's gospel should probably be read as a proof text for the accompanying interpretation (see following note) rather than a citation of the gospel actually read at the Vigil. From the later liturgy (both Roman and Sarum rites) we would expect the reading from Mark at the principal mass of Easter Day and the version from Matthew (XXVIII.1-7) to be read at the Vigil; this arrangement is found in *Leofr.Mrss.*, p. 98. Lib.off. Lviii.31 does appear to claim that Mark was read at the Vigil, although Hanssens suggests that Amalarius has simply erred (AEOLO II, 160, note to lines 37-40). For the gradual 'Alleluia: Confitemini' and the tract 'Laudate', see AMS, no. 79b.

234 *non Portantur cerei ... ad imitationem mulierum quae aromata detulerunt* The basic instruction is found at RC 77 ('Ante euangelium non portantur luminaria in ipsa nocte sed incensurn tantum'), but the justification looks to Amalarius, Lib.off. Lxxxii.8: 'Vt opinor, propter mulierum imitationem dicit romanus libellus non portari hac nocte ante euangelium aliud nisi thymia ... Hoc tantummodo obtulerunt mulieres.')Elfric's wording reflects the influence of both the *Liber officialis* and the *Concordia*; cf. the strikingly similar treatment of these sources at DEC 9. Though IElfric tends to shun unusual vocabulary, he may have justified the retention of *thymia* (Gr. *thymia*) by its appearance in the Vulgate (Exodus XXV.6). His added phrase *quae aromata detulerunt* clarifies the context as the visitation of Jesus's tomb by the holy women on Sunday morning (Matt. XXVIII, Mark XVI, Luke XXIV and John XX). This context needs no explanation in the source itself, since just prior to Lib.off. I.xxxi.8 (noted above) Amalarius has quoted Mark XVI.1: 'Euangelium narrat secundum Marcum modum conuentus feminarum et dicit: "Cum transisset sabbatum, Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi

et Salome emerunt aromata, ut uenientes ungerent Iesum.'" 'Elfric's aromata may come from this earlier passage in Lib. off., or directly from scripture (in addition to Mark XVI.1, see Luke XXIII.56 and XXIV.1).

235 non cantatur ... nec communio The LME's instruction comes verbatim from RC 77 and is also reflected at Briefe 1.130 and 111.60. After the word communio, RC (Ti) adds et pacem non dare nisi qui communicent, a phrase not found in RC (Fa), the DEC or the LME. The uniquely attested phrase appears to be a late and clumsy addition to the original text of the Concordia, on which see RC (Kornexl), pp. 320-2 (commentary to lines 1196-7). Yet, as noted above (pp. 24-5), there may be a hint of this teaching about the pax preserved at Brief 111.60: 'Ac ge ne sculon singan offerendan on] aem dage ne agnus dei ne communia ne gan to pacem' (emphasis added). On the inclusion or omission of these items in a variety of early sources, see Schmidt, pp. 868-71 (Conspectus XVI, items 16 and 23-6).

236 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes' Ps. CXVI; see also Briefe 111.62 ('pone sceortan sealm') and I.131.

237 'Vespere autem sabbati' ... una compleat oratione Verbatim from RC 77; cf. Briefe I.131-2 and 111.62-3. For the 'Magnificat' antiphon 'Vespere autem sabbati', see CAO II, no. 75b.

ss ad mandatum ... more canonicorum From RC 77, after which point in the source fElfric omits a short, general statement about his use of the secular Office at all the hours on Easter (RC 78: 'Septem canonicae horae a monachis in ecclesia dei more canonicorum propter auctoritatem [sic] beati Gregorii papae seclis apostolicae, quam ipse in antiphonario dictauit, celebrandae [sic] sunt').

LME 47 Easter Nocturns; cf. RC 79

2;9 'Domine labia mea aperies' semel, 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende' Pss. L. 17 and LXIX.2, the opening versicles of Nocturns. In the monastic Office 'Domino labia mea aperies' (with the response, 'Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam') is normally said three times.

240 secundum auctoritatem beati Gregorii papae The reference to Gregory is borrowed from a previous, more general statement in the Concordia that IElfric omitted in his transition from the Vigil to Nocturns (quoted above, n. 238). The appeal to Gregorian practice, and indeed most of the detailed provisions that follow in LME 47-8,

simply re-inforce the point that the secular Office replaced the monastic one on this solemn occasion (and through the whole of Easter week). The repetition of this basic teaching is understandable, since monks would not necessarily be familiar with the forms of the secular Office even if their books contained the proper numbers and sequences of antiphons, readings and the rest (cf. above, p. 9, n. 29). The Night Office of Easter consisted of only one secular (festal) Nocturn, hence the mention of only three antiphons, psalms, readings and responsories; see Hughes, §§ 406 and 826.

241 incipiat prior hymnum, etc. Throughout the Concordia the term prior is used for 'abbot', a practice that Ælfric adopts on occasion; see RC (Symons), pp. xxx and 17, n. 1; also RC (Kornexl), p. 206 (commentary to line 306). Notably absent here is the Visitatio sepulchri or so-called Quern quaeritis-play that the Concordia states shall immediately follow the third responsory, before the conclusion of Nocturns with the 'Te Deum'; cf. RC 79.

2 uersum uerhotenus 'Surrexit Dominus' This use of uerhotenus is odd. The words are lifted verbatim from RC 79, where Symons (RC, p. 50, n. 6) translates the phrase 'straight through' - i.e., the priest shall read both the versicle, 'Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro', and the response, 'Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno.' Kornexl suggests, however, that the adverb may have little semantic weight (meaning simply 'wortgetreu, [wort]wortlich'), since the gratuitous formation of adverbs in -tenor is a hallmark of 'hermeneutic' Latinity; see RC (Kornexl), p. 330 (commentary to line 1260).

243 'Dominus regnauit', quia 'Deus misereatur nostri' debet sequi 'Deus Deus meus' more canonicorum Monastic Lauds of Sunday would normally include: Pss. LXVI and L (both invariable), CXVII and LXII (both proper to Sunday), and CXLVIII-CL (all three invariable and counted as one psalm). Here again Ælfric thinks it necessary to spell out the meaning of more canonicorum: i.e., Ps. XCII ('Dominus regnauit') was sung first at secular Lauds on Sundays and feasts. Furthermore, in the secular cursus Ps. LXVI ('Deus misereatur nostri'), ordinarily the first psalm at monastic Lauds, was sung immediately after Ps. LXII ('Deus Deus meus ad te de luce uigilo'), both under a single antiphon. Ælfric (following RC 79) is simply saying that Lauds shall begin with Ps. XCII and that Ps. LXVI, though retained, comes later in the Office, where it follows a psalm (LXII) that it would, in monastic usage, ordinarily precede. Ps. XCII ('Dominus regnauit') will also be sung first at Lauds on Sundays in Advent and on Septuagesima Sunday, according to a later remark at LME 75, although the mention does not seem to imply substitution of

the full secular Office on those occasions (see commentary below, at n. 357).

244 non canimus de omnibus sanctis nec ymnos Cf. RC 79, which excludes the Offices of All Saints during the Octave of Easter but makes no explicit mention of the hymns. The omission of hymns is probably to be understood, however, under the rubric *more canonicorum*, since hymns were only a late addition to the secular Office (s. ix in Francia); see S. Baumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* (Freiburg, 1895; French trans. as *Histoire du breviaire* by R. Biron, Paris, 1905) I, 366; also Milfull, p. 5.

LME 48 Easter Day: Prime through Vespers; cf. RC 80

245 'Deus in nomine tuo' . . . precibus et collecta That is, secular Prime: Pss. LIII ('Deus in nomine tuo'), CXVII ('Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus'), CXVIII.1-16 ('Beati immaculati'), CXVIII.17-32 ('Retribue seruo tuo') and the so-called Athanasian Creed ('Quicumque uult'), all sung with 'Alleluia' instead of antiphons. Some variation of the text 'Haec dies' (based on Ps. CXVII.24) was sung in place of certain items at all the hours during the Easter Octave (see OR L.xxxiii.17). Here at LME 48 1Elfric calls it a *uersus*, which may mean the short versicle and response just before the preces; the usual capitulum and responsorium breue are omitted entirely. For the preces series 'Viuet anima mea' and 'Erraui' (Ps. CXVIII.175-6), followed by the Apostles' Creed (*simbolum*) and further preces, see Tolhurst, pp. 31-6. Note the absence during the Octave of the usual litany after Prime (see LME 2 and commentary above, at n. 10).

246 Legem pone', 'Memor esto', 'Bonitatem' Ps. CXVIII.33-48, 49-64 and 65-80, i.e., the divisions of Ps. CXVIII for secular Prime on Sunday.

247 gradalem 'Haec dies' ... sine capitulo et sine uersu The gradual chant from the mass of the day (AMS, no. 80) takes the place of the usual capitulum and versicle; see RC (Symons) 53, p. 51, n. 13; also Hughes, § 912.

14, Defecit', 'Quomodo dilexi', 'Iniquos' Ps. CXVIII.81-96, 97-112 and 113-28.

249 'Mirabilia', 'Clanraui', 'Principes' Ps. CXVIII.129-44, 145-60 and 161-76.

250 *Dixit Dominus*, '*Confitebor*', '*Beatus uir*' Pss. CIX-CXI. On the special form of Easter Vespers, see Tolhurst, pp. 226-30, and Hughes, § 430.

251 *sequentia* Several items from the mass made a special appearance at Vespers through the Easter Octave (see Hughes, § 912; Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 151), including some form of the gradual '*Haec dies*' (also used at the little hours; see above, nn. 245 and 247) and the '*Alleluia*'. Given this pattern, the present *sequentia* (from RC 80) has been understood to mean a 'sequence hymn' from the Easter mass, perhaps '*Fulgens praeclara*' (AH LIII, 62) or '*Victimae paschali*' (AH LIV, 12), as suggested at RC (Symons), p. 51, n. 18. It should be noted, however, that DEC (R) 10 offers the variant reading '*Alleluia cum uersu sequente*'.

252 *eant adfontem* The procession to the font, mentioned with similar brevity at RC 80, is the vestige of an ancient Roman ceremony for the newly baptized; see OR XXVII.74; Hardison, *Christian Rite*, pp. 173-5; Hughes, § 912.

253 *Laudate pueri Dominum* . . . '*In exitu Israel*' cunct antiphons et collecta Pss. CXII and CXIII. RC 80 does not mention that an antiphon accompanies the second psalm; cf. DEC 10, which gives as antiphons '*Sedit angelus*' for Ps. CXII and '*Christus resurgens*' for CXIII (see CAO 11, series 147c '*Ad processionem*').

254 '*Cum inuocarem*', '*In te Domine speravi*', '*Qui habitat*', '*Ecce nunc*' Pss. IV, XXX, XC and CXXXIII, the usual four for secular Compline. RC 80 does not specify the psalmody but indicates '*more peragatur canonicorum*'.

255 '*Nunc dimittis*' ... uersus '*In pace in idipsum*' ... preces cum collecta et benedictione RC 80 notes the canticle '*Nunc dimittis*' (Luke 11.29-32) and unspecified preces..c 1fric's fuller instructions accord with the outline inferred by Tolhurst, pp. 175-6; for the preces series beginning '*In pace in idipsum*' (Ps. IV.9), see *ibid.*, pp. 37-9.

256 *iste ordo* Referring not just to Compline, but to the structure and psalmody of the secular Office at all the hours.

X The summer horarium from the Octave of Easter to Pentecost (LME 49-57)

257 *ordo iam regularis pleniter inchoetur* After being replaced by the secular Office during the Triduum and Octave of Easter, the monastic Office (including the hymns) returns, together with the devotional Offices of All Saints (cf. LME 47). This is in effect the beginning of the summer horarium, and RC 81-4 includes a short summary of the order of Offices and how they differ from those during the winter. IElfric can omit some of this material (RC 83) because he has already mentioned the main difference of the summer order in an aside at LME 5 (i.e., the daily order of Prime + matutinal mass + Chapter + Terce instead of the winter arrangement Prime + Terce + matutinal mass + Chapter); other portions he omits because his own teaching will depart from that of the Concordia. For RC 81 (the number of readings and responsories in the summer Night Office), cf. LME 80 and commentary; for RC 82 (the summer interval between Nocturns and Lauds), cf. LME 57; for RC 84 (silence and the auditorium), cf. LME 60. A IElfric also omits the apparently misplaced short chapter in the Concordia on the duties of the officer known as the *circa* (RC 86-7), on which see RC (Kornexl), p. cxliv.

258 *De omnibus sanctis ... octauas Pentecosten* The psalms at the Offices of All Saints are all said under a single antiphon through Pentecost week, but the Offices of the Dead and the *psalmi familiares* will resume, according to RC 85, only after the Octave of Pentecost.

259 *Et omnes sinaxes ... praedictum tempos* The use of 'Alleluia' in the Office and at mass during the fifty days after Easter is not discussed in the Concordia; IElfric's usage is close to the tradition of OR L.xxxiii.18.

260 *genuflexionem non facimus nec letanias canimus* RC 85 better explains this provision in terms of its practical consequences, namely that Vigils of the Dead, the *psalmi familiares* and the litany before daily mass shall be omitted, since an unspecified *ordo ecclesiasticus* prohibits kneeling during Paschaltide.

LME 50 The Sunday hymnal: Easter through Pentecost (not in RC)

26i 'Ad cenam Agni prouidi'... 'Iesu nostra redemptio'... 'Aurora lucis rutilat' See AH LI, 87, 95 and 89; Milfull, nos. 70-2. Winchester-Worcester and Canterbury traditions agree in their usage. On these types, see commentary to LME 13 above, at n. 58.

262 'Hymnum canamus gloriae' ... 'Optatus uotis omnium' ... 'Aeterne rex altissime' AH L, 103; LI, 92 and 94; Milfull, nos. 73 (var. 'Hymnum canamus Domino') and 74-5. Winchester-Worcester and

Canterbury traditions agree in their usage.

263 *Iam Christus astra ascenderat* ... *`Veni creator Spiritus* ... *`Beata nobis gaudia* AH LI, 98; L, 193; LI, 97; Milfull, nos. 79-81 (= one hymn) and 76-7. In hymnals of the Canterbury type, *'Iam Christus astra'* is divided into three parts and distributed over Terce, Sext and None; see Milfull, pp. 312, 314 and 316.

LME 51 The Vigil of Pentecost; cf. RC 88

264 *In uigilia Pentecosten* In addition to the instructions here given by i lfric, the Concordia indicates that *'Gloria in excelsis Deo'* shall be sung at mass and provides the collect, epistle, *'Alleluia'* and tract incipits (RC 88).

265 *prima lectio* ... *sicut in missali habentur* RC 88 provides a full list of the lessons, chants and collects, as does an anonymous Old English ordo preserved only in CCCC 190 (printed as *'Anhang II'* by Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, pp. 232-3). In both of these texts, however, there is evidence of confusion about the proper order, exacerbated perhaps by copying errors. The order should be (from *Sacr.Greg.*, nos. 507-14, and AMS, no. 79a-b; see also OR L.xxxix.3-12):

1 lesson: *'Temptauit Deus Abraham'* (Gen. XXII.1-19) tract: *'Cantemus Domino'* (AMS, no. 79a) collect: *'Deus qui in Abrahae'* (*Sacr.Greg.*, no. 508)

2 lesson: *'Scripsit Moyses canticum'* (Deus. XXXI.22-30) tract: *'Attende caelum'* (AMS, no. 79a-b) collect: *'Deus qui nobis per prophetarum'* (*Sacr.Greg.*, no. 510)

3 lesson: *'Apprehendent'* (Isa. IV.1-6) tract: *'Vinea facta est'* (AMS, no. 79b) collect: *'Deus qui nos ad celebrandum'* (*Sacr.Greg.*, no. 512)

4 lesson: *'Audi Israel'* (Bar. II.1.9-38) tract: *'Sicut ceruus'* (AAIS, no. 79b) collect: *'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus'* (*Sacr.Greg.*, no. 516)

(Note: in the Hadrianum the prayer immediately following the fourth reading and tract is *'Deus incommutabilis uirtus'* (*Sacr.Greg.*, no. 514), while *'Omnipotens sempiterne'* follows in it group headed *'Aliae orationes'* (nos. 516-19)).

In RC (Fa) and in the Old English ordo (as well as in Alirr.Rfurn., p. 1 16) the tracts 'Attende caelum' and 'Vinea facta est' are transposed. The Tiberius manuscript of the Conarrdia is defective at this point, but also carries the trace of confusion by giving 'Vinea caelum' [rir] as the incipit of the second tract; on the profound disorder here, see RC (Symons), p. 57, n. I, and the lengthy discussion at RC (Kornexl), pp. 353-6 (commentary to lines 1406-14). Of all texts influenced by the Concordia, only DEC 11 preserves the correct order of readings, chants and prayers. Among versions apparently uninfluenced by the Concordia, the correct order is also found in Alio.N4lin., pp. 1 I -12, but with the fourth collect 'Concede quaesumus' (Sacr.Greg., no. 515); Winth.Sacr., nos. 588-93, includes all the correct components even though the rubrics lend the impression that the collects precede their associated readings. The arrangement in .4dfric's own sacramentary cannot be determined from the LAZE It would be surprising, however, if he had tolerated so faulty an order as in the Concordia, which effectively puts 'a chant from Isaiah ["Vinea facta est"] into the mouth of Moses' (quotation from Hohler, *Some Service-Books*', p. 72). Though Amalarius need not have been /Flfric's source, the tracts 'Attend(, caelum' and 'Vinea ftcta est' are correctly placed and discussed in the Liber of/icialis (cf. RC, (Symons), p. 57, n. I) and in a portion that was included in R1.

'66 letanias ... raniutus On the sevenfold-fivefold-threelfold litany of the saints in the procession ad fortes, see RC 88; cf. the same direction previously at LifE 46 (Easter Vigil; see above, n. 229).

"" aim responsorio it ynmo more solito The responsorium breve and hymn were omitted from Vespers of Holy Saturday, which followed a shortened form of the secular Office and was largely absorbed into the Great Vigil; here (first Vespers of Pentecost) the Office seems to be the full monastic form.

LAZE 52 Pentecost, continued; cf. RC 89-90

268 tribn.r psulnrit ... ut in antipbonario titulatur That is, the shortened Office of a single secular (festal) Nocturn, as at Easter (cf. LISLE 47); taken almost verbatim from RC 89.

269 Ceteris uero Boris ... regularis ordo teneatur Likewise verbatim from RC 89. Here again, as at LME 49, regularis ordo means the monastic Office. Unlike the Octave of Easter, that of Pentecost calls for the substitution of the monastic by the abbreviated secular Office only at Nocturns (see preceding note). Ielfric will eventually clarify

that the shortened form of Nocturns shall be retained through the Octave of Pentecost (I-ME 72; see below, n. 339).

2711 *exi'eptis ieuniomm diebus* That is, the Ember Days (Wednesday, Friday and Saturday) that fall in Pentecost week (see below, n. 291). Cf. RC 90, which states, in addition to this custom, that during the Octave 'Alleluia' shall be sung in place of the gradual at mass and that Vespers of All Saints shall be said (i.e., in full, with an antiphon to each psalm - not under a single antiphon, as from the Octave of Easter; cf. RC 85 and corresponding provisions at LME 49).

LME 53 The Octave of Pentecost and Trinity Sunday; cf. RC 90

271 *non repetatur officium ... aduentum Spiritus sancti* The manuscript reads *.vi.C- diebus*, which I have taken as a confusion of *septem* rather than *sex* (but cf. the viable equivalent at LME 48, *'sex reliquis diebus'*, i.e., the week exclusive of Sunday). Contrary to usual practice, the mass of the principal feast - here designated by the opening words of its introit, *'Spiritus Domini repleuit orbem terrarum, Alleluia'*, etc. (AMS, no. 106) - is not repeated on the following Sunday, which is instead made a special feast of the Trinity. iElfric probably owes this detail to RC 90, although, surprisingly, he rejects the source's figurative explanation for the practice (*'rursus in octauis Pentecostes dominica non repetitur Spiritus domini, eo quod septem tantum colamus dona spiritus sancti'*; cf. a similar rejection at LME 33, commentary at n. 178). The omission is all the stranger since the commonplace equation of a sevenday 'Octave' of Pentecost with the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit also occurs at Lih.off. I.xxxix.1 (*'Quia enim Spiritus Sancti septiformis est gratia, iure sollempnitas aduentus eius per septem dies laude hymnorum debita simul et missarum celebratione colitur'*). As noted by Forster (*'Ober die Quellen'*, p. 49), Amalarius is the likely source for a similar comment in iElfric's Old English homily for Pentecost, *'We wur8ia6 pms Halgan Gastes tocyme mid lofsangum seofon dagas, forcan be he onbryrt ure mod mid seofonfealdre gife ...'* (CH Lxxii, ed. Thorpe I, 326). An almost identical statement occurs in his later homily, roughly contemporary with the LME, for the Octave of Pentecost (Supplementary Collection, ed. Pope I, 418, lines 66-8). Although the Concordia and Liber officialis present in essence the same teaching, iElfric's wording in the Pentecost homily (First Series) clearly follows Amalarius; note the parallels: *tocymeladventus*; *seofonfeald giefu/septiformis gratia* (rather than the *septem dona* of RC 90); *mid lofsangum/laude*

hymnorum. R-Ifric treats the seven gifts of the Spirit on a number of occasions, but only in the Pentecost homily does he associate them with a seven-day 'Octave' of Pentecost. The departure from the Concordia at LME 53 is therefore also a departure from TElfric's own earlier, Amalarian-inspired treatment of the subject.

272 de sancta Trinitate On the displacement of the Octave-Sunday of Pentecost by a special feast of the Trinity, see Hallinger's apparatus to RC 90, 136.1, and Hughes § 107, n. 16. The observance of Trinity Sunday was widespread in the early Middle Ages but not universally imposed until 1334; see ODC, s.v. 'Trinity Sunday', and for variation in early medieval observances, Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis obseruationibus*, c. LX (PL 151, 979-1022, at 1019-20). iElfric's mention of this feast comes almost verbatim from the Concordia. My translation follows Symons's example in supplying an understood subject of *agatur*, but Kornexl argues that *illa ebdomada* is the nominative subject rather than a temporal ablative phrase; see RC (Symons) 59, p. 58; cf. RC (Kornexl), p. 361 (commentary to lines 1441-2). On Trinity Sunday elsewhere in the LME and fElfric's works, see comment below, at n. 341).

LME 54 The Sunday hymnal after Pentecost; cf. RC 91

s In tota estate In other words, the *ordinarium de tempore* for the summer period, from the Octave of Pentecost until 1 November. The special hymns for Easter through Pentecost have already been given at LME 50, those for the winter period at LME 13.

274 Deus creator omnium' ... 'Norte surgentes' ... 'Ecce jam noctis' ... 'Lucis creator' ... Te lucis ante terminurn' See AH L, 13; L1, 26, 31, 34 and 42; Milfull, nos. 2, 5, 6, 13 and 11. Note that the hymn for Sunday (second) Vespers is the same as in the winter period ('Lucis creator'; cf. LME 13). Winchester-Worcester and Canterbury traditions agree in their usage.

275 tria cantica ... sicut in hymnario habentur These are the canticles sung in place of psalms in the third Nocturn of Vigils on feasts of twelve lessons. The Concordia does not mention the canticles, but their use was established by RSB, c. XI.6, and would have been taken for granted. They are often found copied as an appendix to hymnal manuscripts (thus Allfric's remark, 'sicut in hymnario habentur'). On the order and grouping of these 'monastic canticles' in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, see M. Korhammer, *Die monastischen Cantica im*

Mittelalter and ihre altenglischen Interlinearversionen, TUEP 6 (Munich, 1976), pp. 10-25, especially the table at 14-15; also Tolhurst, pp. 182-4.

LME 55 Occurrences and the ranking of feasts (not in RC)

276 Si Natiuitas Sancti Iohannis haptiste ... uolumus tenere The feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist (24 June) took precedence over that of his martyrdom (or Decollation, 29 August); see Orrenberg, *The English Church*, pp. 205-6. This and the following sentences of LME 55 discuss the priority of Offices when important feast days and Sundays coincide or, in technical parlance, 'occur'; see Hughes, § 114, and, for analogues in other customaries, Hallinger's apparatus to LME 55, 177.9. Feasts were ranked according to their ability to supplant the dominical liturgies in whole or in part, although LME 55 presupposes nothing so complex as the system of terms and categories familiar in the later medieval and Tridentine liturgy (see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 53-4). ðElfric's guidelines in this section cover only a few important days. For a tentative reconstruction of the saints' days observed in ðElfric's calendar, see M. Lapidge, 'ðElfric's Sanctorale', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 115-29.

277 Adsumptione et Natiuitate sundae Mariae 15 August and 8 September, respectively; see Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 52-62.

2275 festiuitate Sancti Michaelis 29 September; see Ortenberg, *The English Church*, pp. 108-13.

279 fe tiuitate omnium sanctorum 1 November.

280 si plenam habent hystoriam ... de dominica The term *historia* ('history'), originally used of the Old Testament lections at the Night Office, came to include readings from the lives of the saints, as well as the responsories which were usually drawn from these readings. On occasion (though not in the LME) 'history' could be synonymous with the entire service of Vigils; see Hughes, § 202. The term *.ceder* in this sentence ('*primam sedem et tertiam*') refers to the individual Nocturns.

LME 56 Litanies before mass and the 'subdiaconal' fast; cf. RC 85 and 33

281 letanie canende runt The resumption of the litany before the principal mass on *ferias* is implied by RC 85. This litany (not to be

confused with the one said after Prime - cf. LME 2 and commentary above, at n. 10) is introduced at RC 33, although the present instance (LME 56) is Ufric's first mention of it; see Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints, ed. Lapidge, p. 44.

282 *ieiuni idfaciant* Holding the paten at mass was traditionally a duty of the subdeacon, who also frequently assumed the lector's job of reading the epistle (Amalarius's complaint about this practice at Lib. off. II.xi.4 suggests that it was already widespread in the ninth century). j lfric seems to delegate these tasks to two different participants and does not specify their clerical rank(s). The Concordia makes no comparable mention of these activities or of any fast enjoined on those who perform them, but a partial analogue is found in the pastoral letters to Wulfstan, at Brief 3.70 ('Et qui aliquid gustauerit aut edendo aut bibendo non prnsumat legere nec epistolam nec euangelium, quia qui facit deum inhonorat et se ipsum condempnat') and the Old English version of the same at Brief 111.96. Fehr's source apparatus (at Brief 3.70) refers to two provisions in the penitentials of Egbert and Theodore, but these pertain only to the general fast required of all communicants, not to any special observance by those performing the subdeacon's duties. One closer source may derive from a remark about the subdiaconate in Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II.x, repeated among the decrees of the 816 Council of Aachen as capitulum VI. The Aachen legislation was an intermediate source for much of the Isidorean material in the excerpts *De septem gradibus ecclesiasticis* attributed to IElfric and preserved in a copy of his florilegium (Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliotheque Municipale, 63, fols. 1-34; on the sources of the *De septem gradibus*, see The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection, ed. Cross and Tunberg, p. 16). Of subdeacons the Boulogne excerpts say (abridging the Aachen text), 'Isti [scil. subdiaconil] uasa corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi diaconis ad altare offerunt. Quibus propheta dicente iubetur "Mundamini, qui fertis uasa Domini" [Isa. LII.11]' (22v; the transcription by Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, p. 257, is incomplete). The quoted biblical command 'Mundamini' does not distinguish spiritual from physical purity. But here the compiler of the Boulogne excerpts has carefully excised an intervening sentence which included the phrase 'cacti et continentes sint ab uxoribus', and so has concealed that the capitular (and Isidorean) context understands Isaiah's charge 'Mundamini' primarily in terms of sexual abstinence. The Boulogne abridgement has thereby voided the assumption that subdeacons (still considered a minor order at this date) might have wives. By re-interpreting as a fast what was originally a call for sexual purity among subdeacons (or those who, though not of that

grade, perform their liturgical functions), A3lfric avoids altogether the possibility of married ministers serving at the altar. Whether or not .lfric compiled the Boulogne excerpts, he certainly knew and used them, and the present detail of LibIE 56 may represent it further application of their implicit point.

LME 57 The summer interval; cf. RC 82

21" interualhem estiuis noctibus /Elfric departs from both the intermediate (RC 82) and the ultimate source (RSB, c. VIII.4) by doing away with a custom ill-suited to northern latitudes and, moreover, virtually impossible to reconcile with the accretion of devotional Offices between Vigils and Lauds since St Benedict's time.

281 Beneuentanh The region of Benevento (southern Italy) boasts the site of Monte Cassino, where St Benedict first organized a religious community governed by his celebrated Rule.

211 laudes quas de omnibus sanctis canimus fElfric does not mention Lauds of the Dead, but these likely followed Lauds of All Saints, according to the order given at RC 21.

XI Additional summer and miscellaneous customs (LME 58-64)

LME 58 The ringing of bells; cf. RC 18, 50 and perhaps 34

'sc' sonari prinusnr sit;num . . . ad orationem The provision for Nocturns is clear at RC 18, while the continuous ringing of the bell for Vespers is absent, or only vaguely implied, at RC 34. In the Concordia there are three separate bells before Nocturns and two before Vespers.

287 Mos etiam aped nos ... ante uesperam Elfric has already referred to this custom - but not its putatively English character - when describing the Octave of Christmas (LME 22). It was in that earlier context that the source praised as a venerable Anglo-Saxon custom the ringing of the bells at Nocturns, the principal mass and Vespers on important feasts (RC 50; see interpretation by Symons, 'Sources', pp. 144-6). Days when no work is done' Cab opere cessatur') would include Sundays, feasts of twelve lessons and ferias within the Octaves of Christmas and Easter.

LME 59 The repetition of liturgies in the time after Pentecost (not in RC)

'ss Si deficiant nohis officia acetate, etc. Depending on the date of Easter, there could be as few as twenty-three or as many as twenty-eight Sundays after Pentecost. If Easter were early, the sacramentary might not contain enough masses for all the Sundays until the beginning of Advent. R-Ifric does not specify which masses are to be repeated or in what order, but he apparently does not envision the solution, later standard, of transferring to this period those masses that had not been used in the season after Epiphany.

2H9 'Dicit Dominus: Ego cogito cogitationes pacis' In other words, this mass shall be said only on the last Sunday after Pentecost; the identification refers, as usual, to the opening words of the introit (based on Jer. XXIX.11-12 and 14), for which see AMS, no. 198.

LME 60 The auditorium; cf. RC 84

210 auditorium habendum in monasterio The corresponding provision in the source (RC 84) pertains more generally to the keeping of silence after Vespers until Chapter of the following day and during periods for lectio. While allowing speech in the auditorium for exceptional reasons, the Concordia stresses that it shall not be a place for idle chatter ('fabulis aut otiosis . . . loquelis'). See RC (Symons), p. 55, nn. 2-3; RC (Kornexl), pp. 340-1 (commentary to line 1351); also Spurrell, 'Architectural Interest', p. 165.

LME 61 Ember Days; cf. RC 93

291 Quattuor Temporihus ieiuniorum Also known as Ember Days, these days of fasting and abstinence were observed on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in the week after the feast of Saint Lucy (13 December), the week after the first Sunday of Lent, the week after Pentecost Sunday and the week after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September); see ODCC, .r.v. 'Ember Days'. The Anglo-Saxon custom differed from continental practice, according to which the spring and summer fasts were also observed on fixed days rather than times dependent on the date of Easter. sElfric and his source favour the native custom: 'abstinencia ... cum magna custodiatur diligentia, excepto dum in Pentecosten ebdomada euenerit' (RC 93; cf. the prior reference to Ember Days in the week after Pentecost, at LME 52, based on RC 90; see above, n. 270). z lfric and his contemporaries were certainly aware that their custom differed from that of the Continent. The anonymous Latin sermon De ieiunio quattuor temporum, appended to the DEC in CCCC 190 and included in four other manuscripts associated with Wulfstan's

'commonplace book', endorses the rival practice of observing the spring and summer Ember Days in the first week of March and the second week of June; see Cross, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript', pp. 65-6 (item 3) and 73-6 (edition). Further evidence of the conflict between the two systems has been detected in the Old English poem 'The Seasons for Fasting'; see Sisam, *Studies*, pp. 48-9 and 55-6.

29' 'Flectamus genua' Between the readings and collects on Ember Days the priest would say 'Oremus', then the deacon would instruct the people to kneel by singing 'Flectamus genua' and to rise at the end of the prayer by 'Leuate'. The practice was ancient and widespread; see Hughes, § 519.

293 eadem abstinencia quae in Quadragesima fit The details of the Lenten fast are given at LME 26 and 28, both derived from RC 55. In the present general statement about the Ember Days, /Elfric omits the detail from RC 93 that the fast shall be less rigorous `dum in Pentecosten ebdomada euenerit .

LME 62 The daily maundy of the poor; cf. RC 94 and perhaps 95

294 regula sancta satis monet For the brothers' maundy on Saturdays, see RSB, c. XXXV.7-9, and RC 35.

295 qui in monasterio iugiter pascuntur Both IElfric and his source (RC 94, here quoted almost verbatim) take for granted that every monastery will be engaged in this kind of charity.

296 nam de susceptione hoipitum regales docet The actual relation of this phrase to the preceding topic (the paupers' maundy) is questionable. /Elfric often uses nam with little or no causal force (cf. above, n. 108). The present clause - which might appear to conflate hospitality towards guests (ref. to RSB, c. LIII) and charity towards the poor - is probably better viewed as another instance of overly severe abridgement and 'splicing' (this time of RC 95, which immediately follows the description of the paupers' maundy).

LME 63 Lay dominion prohibited; cf. RC 10

297 nullus laieorum haheat dominium, etc. One of only two provisions in the LME clearly adapted from the proem of the Concordia (RC 10); for the other, see LME 64 and below, no. 299-300.

295 *ad munimen loci, non ad tirannidem* The same phrase occurs in the Eynsham 'foundation charter' (S 911), the relevant portion of which recurs verbatim in a charter (of doubtful authenticity) issued in the name of King Edgar to Æthelwold's foundation at Thorney (see above, p. 45 and n. 11). All of these instances recall, moreover, RC 10, where royal custody is limited '*ad sacri loci munimen*' but without any qualifying reference to 'tyranny'. It is plausible although not certain that the Concordia witnesses the original phrase, of which the Thorney and Eynsham charters present an elaboration; the exact relationship between the latter texts and the LME is also unknown, though I think it more likely that the LME is quoting S 911 than vice versa. The reference to 'tyranny' may be purely formulaic, but it does coincide suggestively with the declining ideal of royal-monastic partnership. As discussed in the introduction, a more cautious attitude toward royal dominion likely prevailed c. 1000 than in the 960s and 970s, and the immediate circumstances of Eynsham's foundation (and Ælfric's promotion) may have included Æthelmirr's fall from King Aethelred's favour (see above, pp. 12-15). In the context of Ælfric's seeming efforts to tone down the pervasive royalism of the Regularis concordia, the added mention of 'tyranny', relegated to this inconspicuous place in his customary, may be heard as a quiet but sincere note of criticism (see above, 44-5).

LME 64 Dining with seculars prohibited; cf. RC 13, 95 and perhaps 10

299 *Nec quispiam ... excepto rege et fidiis eius* LME 64 is a composite of teachings from the Concordia about dining with laymen or even, it seems, secular clergy. The special allowance for the king and his sons may rest on RC 10: '*Potentibus uero, non causa conuiuandi sed pro monasterii utilitate atque defensione . . . obuiandi intra infraue monasterium licentiam habeant.*'

300 *aut abbas seu fratres ... temerario ausu adire presumant* 'Ælfric combines two prohibitions occurring separately in the Concordia, beginning with RC 95 ('*ut uidelicet in monasterio degens extra refectorium nec ipse abbas nec fratrum quispiam nisi causa infirmitatis manducet uel bibat*'), then drawing a phrase from the proem at RC 13 ('*Secularium uero conuiuia ... nullo modo ausu temerario nec praelati nec subiecti adire praesumant*').

X11 Duties pertaining to the final illness and death of a monk (LME 65-9)

LME 65 When a monk is sick; cf. RC 98

301 Cum quislibet frater infirmatur The following customs, including the form of the death announcement or breue (LME 68) and the prayer pro defuncto fratre (LME 69), are closely modelled, often verbatim, on the Concordia. Most of the practices here mentioned are widely attested in other contemporary sources; for analogues, see Hallinger's apparatus to RC 98-103.

soz indicetur hoc abbati Cf. RC 98, which indicates that the sick monk shall be assigned a 'keeper' (custos), who shall make the former's condition known to the whole community (conuentus).

303 ad uisitandum infirmum Liturgical ordines for this visitation and anointing survive in several Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Of particular interest are versions in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 482, and CCC 422, both of which contain extensive Old English rubrics. These bilingual ordines are printed by B. Fehr, 'Altenglische R.itualtexte fur Krankenbesuch, heilige Olung and Begrabnis', in *Texte und Forschungen zur englischen Kulturgeschichte: Festgabe fur Felix Liebermann*, ed. M. Forster and K. Wildhagen (Halle, 1921), pp. 20-67. See also *Miss.RJum.*, pp. 287-95, and partial instructions in *Winch.Sacr.*, prior to no. 1778.

304 consequente letania See Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints, ed. Lapidge, pp. 44-5, with references to texts printed in his edition.

LME 66 The death and burial of a monk; cf. RC 99

305 commendationem anime: 'Subuenite Sancti Dei' The text is preserved as part of the long ordo in agenda mortuorum in *Leofr.Miss.*, p. 198, and in *Miss.RJum.*, p. 297.

vi ita ratio dictaerii A difficult phrase lifted verbatim from KC 99, loosely translated 'if such be the rule' at KG (Symons) 66, p. 65. My rendering 'if resources permit' may be overtranslation, but the literal meaning ('if reason dictates) and the context urge an interpretation of rails as 'practical consideration' or 'good sense'. In other words, A lfric (following his source) allows the community to weigh circumstances and determine whether or not this custom - which entails the loss of what could be a valuable liturgical vestment - is 'reasonable' in every instance.

307 nticsarrt celebrant pro anima eitu That is, the matutinal mass; this reference anticipates the fuller provisions that will follow in LME 67.

LME 67 Special observances in the month following a monk's burial; cf. KC 100

SOS elominica oration it collector The Lord's Prayer and collect are not mentioned but probably understood at RC 100. The 'seven psalms' are the penitential psalms (see above, n. 10).

i07 ammm ex .cn/rrtditti.r ... prahatnn That is, one of the seven penitential psalms, which were, additionally, already to be chanted after Prime (see above, n. 10) and in the trines aratio before Nocturns (see above, n. 15).

310 aigilia pleniter agatur That is, the form with three Nocturns and a total of nine lessons, as opposed to the shorter form that will be said from the eighth up to the thirtieth day.

triginta nri.r.w.r ... celehret, et alii frater in prabnodiis ... athlutent The directive to priests implies the celebration of 'private masses' (cf. above, at n. -i6). The task assigned to the brothers departs from the source (2C 100), which enjoins extra psalmody only on deacons (an entire psalter) and subdeacons (fifty psalms). Because of the ambiguous referent of the phrase in gaantant aa/ent, the latter part of A71fric's sentence might also be construed 'to assist this soul] by reciting as much psalmody as they can'.

'r' notetar in annitertariis In the Concordia enrolment in the list of annual remembrance is explicitly noted among confraternal obligations (see RC 102 - the basis, in other respects, for Li%IE 69) and not, as here, in the context of a death in one's own house; on this and other apparent departures from the source, see comments below, at no. 315-17. The anniversaries would have been read at daily Chapter (Tolhurst, p. 54). Extant Anglo-Saxon libri vitae and necrologies are now collected and provided with extensive commentary by J. Gerchow, *Die Gedenkuberlie/erang der Angetaiiisen nut einem Kataloge der libri vitae and Necrs/sgien, Arbeiten zur FrO smittelalterforschung* 20 (Berlin, 1988).

LME 68 The breue; cf. RC 101

r' nanmsterii (illnn) Once more i lfriC has declined to tailor a general formula for the use of his own house, repeating verbatim the text provided at RC 101. Cf. commentary above to LMI? 12 (at n. 53) and 25 (at n. 98).

LME 69 Confraternal obligations; a prayer; cf. RC 102

314 monasterio note The term notus is used of a monastery in

confraternity; cf. RC 102: 'noto ac familiari'.

315 quindecim graduurn psalrnos A significant departure from RC 102 ('septem penitentiae prostrati in oratorio modulentur psalmos'), although neither this nor any of the apparent innovations in this section (see below, no. 316-17) was necessarily introduced by iElfric.

3t6 prima die, septima, tricesima The source (RC 102) includes the third day as well, although its absence in the LME may be the result of a copyist's omission. Even if the departure is not accidental, fElfric's role in altering the source is again uncertain.

317 Oratio pro defuncto fratre In the LME the relation of this prayer to the preceding material is unclear: is it to be said for any dead brother, or for one within or one outside the confraternal fold? There is no ambiguity in the source (RC 102), where the prayer is clearly attached to the seven penitential psalms chanted for a dead brother in confraternity. The apparent displacement of this prayer and of the instruction about the anniversaries (LME 67; see above, n. 312), as well as the substitution of the gradual for the penitential psalms (see above, n. 315), suggest that i lfric's exemplar offered a slightly different version of the end of the source. In her discussion of the closing segments of the Concordia as preserved in Cotton Tiberius A. iii, Kornexl favours this possibility; see RC (Kornexl), p. 384 (commentary to line 1651). On the sources and analogues of the prayer 'Satisfaciat', see Hallinger's apparatus to IZC 102, 145.5.

311 Mariae ... Benedicti ... ornnumque sanctorum tuorum In her edition (*Excerpta ex institutionibus*, p. 193, n. 2) Bateson concludes that iElfric's omission of St Peter, who is included in the Concordia's version of this prayer, indicates a dedication of Eynsham to St Mary, St Benedict and All Saints. In the Eynsham 'foundation charter' (S 911), however, the dedication implied is to St Saviour and All Saints only: 'monasterio ... in honore Sancti saluatoris, omniumque sanctorum suorum, iure dedicato' (EC I, 20). Here Bateson must have relied instead on the words of R-thelmxr's Old English appendix to the same charter: 'ic an pysse are Gode. sancte Marian. , eallon his halgon. , sancte Benedicte into Egnesham' (ibid. I, 24), but this statement need not refer specifically to the dedication. A. Binns's survey of dedications notes only that to St Saviour and All Saints (*Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066-1216* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 72), but Gordon follows Bateson and iEthelmxr's Old English statement (Eynsham Abbey, p. 28). Against the inference of Bateson and Gordon, however, is iElfric's consistent refusal elsewhere to customize his text to the degree of specifying

dedications for Eynsham's processional chapels and side altars, or of naming the saint(s) whose relics are interred there; cf. commentary to LME 12 (at n. 53), 25 (at n. 98) and 68 (at n. 313). One might reasonably question why iElfric would bother to customize the present quite incidental liturgical formula and no other. That Peter's name was simply missing from the prayer in jElfric's exemplar remains a possibility, supported perhaps by the Concordia in Cotton Faustina B. iii, where the main scribe also omitted Peter (though the name was later inserted above the line by a second hand; see RC (Kornexl), p. cxi and n. 61, with Abbildung V, p. cclxxvi).

Finiunt conjuetudines Assuming that LRIE 70-80, still to come, were present from the beginning and not a later supplement, the words 'Finiunt consuetudines' may be read as the author's signal only that he has reached the end of that portion of the text based on his main source, , thelwold's liter cou.cuetrrdinunr (or ReguLtri.i oncortha). This interpretation accords with the typical use of the word conveetudo throughout the L,ilE to signify a return to Aithelwold's text after some digression based on other sources. lElfric includes no provisions from the 'extra' material found at the end of the Tiberius manuscript of the (anesrdia: see RC (Ti) 103, on prayers for those who 'ualde necessarii suet sine in spiritualibus siue corporalibus' - i.e., patrons, rulers, important clergy; and RC (Ti) 104, an exemption of monasteries from payment of the heriot. These sections may or may not have been in fElfric's exemplar, and Kornexl is doubtless right to hold that the words finiunt corunetrddneet alone cannot decide the issue; see RC (Kornexl), p. 384 (commentary to line 1684), responding to RC (Symons), p. 67, n. 9, where fElfric's finiunt is taken as confirmation that the final items included in the Tiberius manuscript were not part of the 'original' Concordia.

XIII Readings and responsories for the Night Office (LME 70-80)

LME 70 Preface; Sehtuagesima through the Triduum

120 cansuetudinera in qua huuuque conueroati sunrus Although the system of Office readings and responsories that underlies Li%IF_ 70-80 cannot be recovered in all of its details, M. McC. Gatch has shown that this neglected part of the text preserves evidence vital for any study of the Anglo-Saxon monastic Office and, more narrowly, for study of 4ilfric's long-term translation programme. A number of / Elfric's biblical translations and non-homiletic reading pieces were intended, Gatch claims, as 'summaries of the readings of the Office histories for Lent and the summer', perhaps requested specifically by

the pious laymen Aethelweard and A thelmtnr in their effort to approximate, in an abbreviated, vernacular form, the monks' yearly cycle of prayer and reading ('The Office', pp. 352-62, quotation at 362). This portion of fElfric's customary draws on no single identifiable source. The broader liturgical tradition underlying it, however, was first discussed by Hall, 'Some Liturgical Notes'. Hall demonstrates that this ordo lectionru - which he calls an 'appendix' to the LME - agrees in the main with the arrangement described in Ordo rowanus XIII A, although it is occasionally closer to other versions of that ordo (i.e., XIII B-D, representing ninth- to twelfth-century northern European adaptations of the same basic plan). OR XIII A is held to emanate from the Roman Church of Sr John Lateran and represent the practice of the first half of the eighth century. Andrieu (*Les Ordines ronzani* II, 177-8) hesitates to name a more specific origin than Rome itself, but the association of OR XIII with the Lateran has become commonplace in subsequent scholarship (e.g., Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 167; Martimort, *Lecturer liturgiques*, pp. 72 and 80; Gatch, *The Office*, p. 353). Given its likely origins in the non-monastic liturgy of the Lateran Basilica, the structure of the Office implied in OR XIII A was occasionally unsuited to the monastic form of Nocturns, and s lfric's tendency to follow closely the wording of his source without adequate adaptation (see above, pp. 68-70) compounds the interpretative challenges in this section (see commentary to LME 71 (at n. 337), 76 (at n. 358) and 77 (at n. 363), below).

While the similarities noted by Hall confirm the general tradition reflected in LME 70-80, OR XIII A could have supplied only part of the information in R-lfric's 'appendix'. IElfric - or a prior redactor of the ordo he happens to be using - also supplements the order of readings by adding the incipits of twenty-one responsories (each the first of a whole series) associated with the various lections. Among witnesses collated by Andrieu for his edition of OR XIII A, this type of augmented ordo is scarce, represented by one manuscript, E (Douai 857, s. xii), as well as by a unique twelfth-century St Gall manuscript of OR XIII D. fElfric's 'appendix' includes a larger number of responsories than either of these (Hall, 'Some Liturgical Notes', p. 298). The addition of responsory incipits to a basic ordo lectionum was a natural step, since these two elements of the Night Office are so closely related (being usually drawn from the same source). The concord between readings and responsories was an important concern of medieval liturgists, including Amalarius in his *Liber de ordine antiphonarii* (AEOLO III, 19-109).

This 'appendix' to the LME is an extraordinarily rare survival among Anglo-Saxon liturgical sources, even though its provisions give only a basic outline of practice. Office antiphoners and lectionaries must have been available in every Anglo-Saxon monastery, but so little evidence of either type of book survives that /Elfric's plan is difficult to check against contemporary sources. In the rare instances that these are available (chiefly from the mid-eleventh-century Worcester 'Portiforium' of St Wulfstan), they are cited extensively below. Otherwise, although the following notes refer to the comparative tables in Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonaliuni officii*, it must be stressed that precise agreement of content, much less of order, between IElfric's antiphoner and Hesbert's sources cannot be demonstrated beyond the first responsory of the series (and not even the accompanying verse of that; see below, n. 322). Though they are not cited throughout, also useful for comparative study of the Night Office are the tabular appendices to Hanssens's edition of Amalarius's *Giber de ordine antiphonarii* (AEOLO III, 110-224) and the detailed outline of readings and responsories compiled from mostly Cluniac sources of s. x-xii, published as Appendix IX.1 ('Die Lektionenordnung im Jahreskreis') of CCM 7.4, 37-84. A basic survey of the uses of biblical lections in the Anglo-Saxon Office is also provided by Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, pp. 67-78.

121 in medians Quadragesimarn That is, up to the fourth Sunday of Lent. OR XIII A.1 directs that the entire Heptateuch shall be read in the period from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday (the fifth Sunday of Lent); see below, at n. 324.

322 una die tantum hystoriam 'Alleluia dum praesens est' Witnesses to this set of responsories are printed in CAO II, series 52a. Here and throughout the 'appendix', IElfric gives only the incipit of the first responsory of the first Nocturn as a cue to the full texts and their verses, which would be found, with musical notation, in the antiphoner. Usually the series of responsories would contain at least twelve - the number needed for Nocturns of Sunday - though arrangements vary enormously. The Sunday texts Would be divided and distributed over subsequent ferias for as many weeks as the accompanying readings or season lasted, although the exact distribution is often impossible to discern from early medieval sources (for representative later arrangements, see Hughes, § 419-22 with figs. -4.7-8). The responsories for Septuagesima Sunday (beginning with 'Alleluia dam praesens est'; cf. Wisdom IV.2) are it notable exception, however, since the 'Alleluia' could not be sung after that Sunday until its re-appearance at Easter (see LAIF 26 and commentary above, at nn. 1(1-"i-6 and 110). On the present use of

bi.ttnria in the restricted sense of 'responsory' only, compare LAIF 55 and commentary above, at n. 280. Unless otherwise noted, all further citations of entire series of responsories refer to monastic sources, arranged by Hesbert in parallel columns in CAO II. For the full text of a responsory and its verse(s), the reader must consult Hesbert's CAO IV, where the complete texts and their verses are edited, in alphabetical order, from monastic and secular sources. Antiphons are similarly edited in CAO 111.

323 responssria de ptnlmis, 'Quart nta,'na multitudo' et cetera For 'Quam magna multitudo' see GAO II, series 27a and I39a 'De psalmis'. Of Heshert's monastic sources, the antiphoner of St Maur-les-Fosses (s. xi-xii) and that of Saint-Denis (s. xii) place 'Quam magna multitudo' (from Ps. XXX.20) as the first responsory of the first Nocturn on Monday following Septuagesima Sunday. For a thorough inventory and comparative study of the responsories de p.arlntir, see R. Le Roux, 'Etude de l'office dominical et ferial: Its repon.s "de psalm is" pour les matines de l'Epiphanie a la Septua;esime selon Its torsos romain et monastique', Ft/1c/en gregorienner 6 (1963), 39-15R.

Fxodmu . . . 'Locuuts ett Dominu.i ad Aln~.rerr' By iElfric's arrangement only the first two books of the Heptateuch are read from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday, within which period Exodus is allotted only one week. The assignment of Exodus to midLent Sunday in many sources - contrary to the scheme of OR XIII A - has been interpreted as a symptom of how early medieval accretions to the Office forced a curtailment of the readings at Nocturns (catch, 'The Office', p. 355). For the responsory series 'Locutus est Dominus', see CAO 11, series 64a.

325 Hierenciatn prophetani That is, the book of Jeremiah only; Lamentations will be taken up during the Triduum.

"6 'l.di rtrnt tlje<' ... 'In he ynrt introrarii te' CAO 11, series 66b and 68b. The first responsory only ('Isti sent dies) of the former series would not be used again over the succeeding clays (see following note).

327 Sal lnn ipttnn ... nisi a donrinia, die The quotation ('Quarta decima die', etc.) comes from the text of the responsory: 'Isti stint dies quos obseruare debetis temporibus suis: Quartadecima die ad uesperum Pascha Domini est, et in quintadecima solemnitatem celebrabitis altissimo Domino' (LAO IV, no. 7013; the accompanying verse varies by source). The chant text is based in part on Lev.

328 de Lamentatione ... tractatus Sancti Augustine ... de apostolo, etc. That is, Lamentations, Augustine's Enarratio of Ps. LXIII, and I Cor. XI.23 ff., all as in OR XIII A.3; see also Hughes, § 416. The detailed description of readings for the Triduum was not part of the original OR XIII A, but a later interpolation (Les Ordines romani, ed. Andrieu II, 477). Anglo-Saxon copies of this ordo preserved in manuscripts of Wulfstan's 'commonplace book' (CCCC 190 and Rouen 1382), however, do not contain the expanded outline for the Triduum, making ðElfric's witness all the more valuable. A single extant leaf (now Columbia, University of Missouri Library, Fragmenta Manuscripta 1) of what may be an Anglo-Saxon Office lectionary contains passages from the Triduum lessons from Lamentations; see L. E. Voigts, 'A Fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscript at the University of Missouri', ASE 17 (1988), 83-92.

329 'Festinemus ingredi in illam requiem' Heb. IV. I I ff.

33° in tertia cede ... sicut in totis annofacimus The tractus euangelii is ordinarily a patristic homily on the gospel pericope. On the usual distribution of readings from scripture, sermons and homilies in the individual nocturns, see Gatch, 'The Office', p. 353, n. 43. When the Night Office consisted of three nocturns, the lections of the first were usually taken from scripture, those of the second from patristic sermons specific to the day or season, and those of the third from a patristic homily on the gospel of the day. On Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost, however, the sermons were usually omitted from the second nocturn, which was then given over to a continuation of the biblical readings. There were, however, many exceptions and occasional modifications to this scheme; see Hughes, §§ 415-17. It is now commonly recognized that the homiliary, a book containing the homeliae and some sermons read at the Night Office, provided ðElfric a valuable anthology of Latin sources for his Old English compositions; see C. Smetana, 'ðElfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', Traditio 15 (1959), 163-204; idem, 'ðElfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt', Traditio 17 (1961), 457-69.

LME 71 Easter through Ascension

331 trey lectiones ... ipsius festiuitatis At LME 47 ðElfric has already mentioned the Easter Night Office of a single Nocturn with three lessons. LME 71 confirms that, in accordance with common practice (though not specified in OR XIII A), this shortened form of the Office

was said through the entire Octave of Easter and that the three readings were drawn not from scripture but from homilies on the gospel (on this arrangement, see Hughes, § 417). OR XIII A.6 states only that 'in pascha ponunt' the book of Acts, the seven canonical epistles and the Apocalypse until the conclusion of the Octave of Pentecost. The duration of each reading is not specified.

332 'Angelus Domini' ... 'Maria Magdalene' CAO II, series 75c and 76b. The latter is assigned to Easter Monday in most of Hesbert's sources.

333 *epistolis canonicis* That is, James, I-II Peter, 1-III John and Jude, collectively known as the 'canonical' epistles in the west and the 'catholic' epistles in the east (see Andrieu's note to OR XIII A.6). Hall's paraphrase of Ælfric on this point ('Some Liturgical Notes', p. 299) might give the incorrect impression that the seven canonical epistles were read during Easter week rather than in the following one. The trouble lies in the variable meanings of 'Octave' both in Latin and English. Ælfric uses *in octauis* to mean: (a) on [the day of] the Octave', i.e., the eighth day (inclusive) from the feast itself; (b) 'during or through those eight days; or, (c) as here at LME 71, 'from the Octave' [i.e., on eighth day and thereafter]. Hughes (§ 103) discusses the preferred terminology, which ideally would distinguish the prepositions *in*, *ab* or *infra* and inflect the noun 'Octave' accordingly.

dominica post octavas ... *Ascensionem Domini* In other words, from the Sunday fourteen days after Easter until the Thursday of Ascension. OR XIII A does not mention the feast of the Ascension.

334 'Ego sicut uisus' CAO II, series 82b and 88. Among Hesbert's sources this responsory occurs in the first position in the first Nocturn only in one manuscript (Rheinau antiphoner, s. xiii). Elsewhere this history is variously called 'De auctoritate' or 'De Apocalypsi'.

11° 'Narrabo nomen tuum' CAO 11, series 85 and 89; none of Hesbert's sources provides 'Narrabo' as the first responsory in the first Nocturn.

12° *tredecim lectiones de actibus apostolorum* ... *cernionet de eadem festinitate* OR XIII A names Acts only as the first hook read 'in Pascha'. Ælfric appears to be following a tradition closer to OR XIII B.26, which prescribes three readings from Acts (1.1-1a, 1.15-26 and 12.1-6) followed by 'homilies pertaining to the same day'. The provision of OR XIII B.26 suggests a secular festal Office of nine lessons (i.e., three readings from Acts in the first Nocturn, then three from the

church fathers in each of the second and third Nocturns). To adapt the same provision for monastic use, an additional reading from scripture or the homiliary would have to fill out the first Nocturn, bringing the total of its lessons to four. See, for example, the adapted Night Office for Christmas and Epiphany in Cluniac customs of s. x-xii, cited below at on. 358 and 363; for Ascension, however, these same sources require all twelve readings to be from homilies on the gospel of the day (CCM 7.4, 57). It is unlikely that Ælfric's failure to include such a modification signals the replacement of the expected Office of twelve lessons on Ascension by a secular form with nine (cf. Hughes, § 826 with fig. 8.3). The lingering ambiguity recalls, however, that Ælfric's verbatim reliance on sources can lead to the appearance of idiosyncratic usage at Eynsham (fix another disturbing example, see commentary to LME 27 above, at n. 1 18). In the present instance Ælfric has probably simply adapted the wording of his source (some version of a secular ordo similar to OR XIII B.26) without due attention to the change of format, which demands a fourth reading from Acts or some other book.

'Post Passionem Dondni' Very likely an error for 'Post Passionem suam', unanimously attested by Hesbert's sources at CAO II, series 93a. There is a responsory beginning 'Post Passionem Domini' assigned to the feast of St Denys (9 October; see CAO 11, series I 14b). The confusion, whether Ælfric's or a later scribe's, likely arose from the similarity of the incipits. The mistake could hardly be made otherwise, since the full text of 'Post Passionem suam' is self-evidently proper to the Ascension (see CAO IV, no. 7403). The same error occurs in one version of the eleventh-century customs known as the Cluniacenses antiquiores, *Redactio Nonantulana* § 46 (see CCM 7.2, 104). *Worc.Ant.* (p. 147) has the correct text 'Post Passionem suam'.

LME 72 Pentecost until the first Sunday of August

tres lectiones de tractione etrangeliorum Apparently the shortened Office of a single Nocturn with three lessons, as through the Octave of Easter (see above, n. 331). This form was already specified for the Night Office of Pentecost itself, and here Ælfric implies its extension through the entire week; cf. LME 52 and commentary above, at n. 268. The use of patristic readings rather than scripture during this week is commended by OR XIII D.7-8. On the short form of Nocturns through the Octave of Pentecost, see also OR L.xl.3 and Amalarius, *Lib.off.* IV.xxvii.21 -2.

341 In octauis ... de sancta Trinitate iElfric has already referred to this feast once at LME 53 (see above, n. 272). In the present sentence, in octauis must mean 'on the day of the Octave [of Pentecost]' and imply the week following as well. Although later the feast would be restricted to the Sunday, fElfric unambiguously states that it has an Octave; see also his Old English homily for the Octave of Pentecost: 'and nu todig we heria8 ba halgan lrynysse mid urum 8eowdome, and on iysse wucan o8 Sunnanifen we singa8 be bam' (Supplementary Collection, ed. Pope 1, 418, lines 73-5). The postponement of the histories 'De Regum' until the following Sunday also indicates observance of an Octave (see below, n. 343), as does the arrangement of Offices in Port.Wulst. (II, 48-59), where Nocturns of Trinity Sunday include readings from an unidentified source and the responsory series beginning Benedicat nos Deus' (CAO II, series 432a, 97a, 120'b and 127sa). In accordance with Benedict's Rule (c. X.2), Port.Wulst. gives only one lesson and responsory for ferias during the Octave of the Trinity, since with these days the summer horarium begins, with its curtailed Night Office. At LME 80, however, 'Elfric will recommend the continuance of three readings and responsories on ferias throughout the summer (see commentary below, at n. 368).

342 post octabas . . . ponimus Regum The observance of Trinity Sunday and its Octave means that readings from Kings cannot begin until the second Sunday after Pentecost; see the preceding note.

'Deus omnium' CAO II, series 972 and 129b 'De historic regum'; cf. the lections and responsories 'De libro Regum' at Port.Wulst. II, 40-41.

LME 73 Saints' days

1 14 alia congruentia ... sumimus Hall speculates ('Some Liturgical Notes', p. 300, n. 13) that LME 73 may reflect the influence of antiphonary rubrics or of an ordo antiphonarum, where such directions are common (cf. jElfric's statement at LME 55 on the distribution of propers on occurrent saints' days). Antiphons, lections and responsories of the commune sanctorum according to mid-eleventh century Worcester usage are preserved in Port.Wulst. II, 25-38.

poninuu Salomwiem Like most medieval orelines lertiontnn, fElfric's does not specify which of the wisdom books shall be read or in what order. For the later Office, Hughes (§ 116 and n. 33) notes that the bisIsr a fa/eentiae is drawn from Ecclesiastes only, while earlier medieval sources admit one, some or all of the four wisdom books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (Sirach)). OR XII1 B.9 specifics all of these plus the Song of Songs. The lections given in Port.Wulst. 11, 112 (under the erroneous title 'De Iudit') begin with Proverbs.

16 'In priuripirs' CAO 11, series 10211 and 130a; cf. Psr't.W!lrrt. 11, 42, where 'In principio' falls in third position in the first Nocturn.

³⁴⁷ *Iob duobus ebdomadibus* Ælfric is closer to OR XIII D.11 (and 29), which specifies Job 'usque in medium septembris', than to the A-version, which says only that Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther and Esdras shall be read between 1 September and 1 October. Gatch ('The Office', p. 359) has called attention to the supporting evidence of CH II.xxx: 'Mine gebroðra. We rædað nu æt godes ðenungum be ðan eadigan were Iob' (ed. Godden, p. 260, lines 1–2; in CUL, Gg. 3. 28, the piece bears the rubric *Dominica .i. in mense Septembri. Quando legitur Iob*). Lections from Job are given at Port. Wulst. II, 43.

" 'Si Gotta' CAO II, series 10H'a and I31a; Port. We/it. 11, 43-A; see also the series (missing its beginning) in the margin of Carp.4I, manuscript p. 475 (noted by Grant's inventory at Corp.-)I, p. 106), where there are live responsories from jot), of which the first (presumably not the first of the series when it was complete) is 'Induta est' with the verse 'Dies mei'.

349 legimu.r Tnbimu In limiting Tobit to the third week the LAZE is more explicit than analogous texts, including OR XIII D, which assigns Tobit, Judith and Esther as a group to the latter two weeks of September. For the lections, see Port.Wulst. 11, -44-5.

i50 Pets Dante' The manuscript's abbreviation `Pero d' is expanded 'Peto dominion' in the CCM edition, but cf. CAO 11, series 1092 and I32b'De Tobie', and Port.WeLit. 11, 44-5; sec also Corp.41, manuscript p. 475 (noted by Grant, Corp47, p. 106), for six responsory and verse incipits headed 'Incipit responsoria de -Ibbi act medium Septembris ustlue in dominica niensis Octobris', of which the first is `Peto Domine', with the verse 'Omnia iudicia- written out in full and neumed.

351 'TriGul~I/iinnt'i' CAO II, series I1)9' and I i-1 'De Iudith', although in only one of Hesbert's monastic sources does 'Tribulariones' occur as the first responsory of the first Nocturn. In Psrt.Wulst. II, 15, it appears as the seventh responsory of the group 'De Tobī [or]'; see

also Corp.41, manuscript pp. 475-6 (noted by Grant, Corp.41 , p. 106) under the rubric 'Responsoria de ludith', followed by it series of only three, beginning 'Adonai Domine' with the verse 'Benedicire'.

352 'Adaperiu' CAO 11, series 137a-b and 1135a 'De historia Machabeorum'; lections and responsories are given at Port,A'a/st. II, 46; responsories only in Csp.41, manuscript p. 476 (noted by Grant, Cwp.41, p. 106) under the rubric 'Incipit responsoria dominica J. mensis October {lie] usque in dominica J. mensis Noucmber {.tie]'], followed by a series of nine, beginning 'Adaperiat Dominus' with the verse 'Exaudiat Dominus'.

5i minores prophetas Twelve books in all: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.

354 'Vidi Dominum' CAO II, series 138a-b and 1152 'De prophetis'; Port.Wulst. II, 47; see also the incomplete series in Corp.41, manuscript pp. 476-7 (noted by Grant, Corp.41, p. 106) under the rubric 'Incipit responsoria de minoribus prophetis ad dominica A. mensis Nouembris usque medium Aduentum', followed by only two, beginning 'Vidi Dominum' with the verse 'Seraphim'.

LME 75 Advent

155 legimus Isaiam The different versions of OR XIII unanimously assign Isaiah to this season. The LME is also unambiguous but difficult to reconcile with a statement at the beginning of the Old English homily for the first Sunday of Advent, wherein IElfric refers to readings from the 'prophets' (plural) through the liturgies of the season: 'Nu stent se gewuna on Godes gela8unge, pxt ealle Godes Oeowan on cyrclicum llenungum, xge5er ge on halgum rxdingum ge on gedremum lofsangum, 6jera witegena gyddunga singallice on 1,yssere tide recca8. Pa witegan, purh Godes Gast, witegodon Cristes to-cyme Ourh menniscnysse, and be oam manega bec setton, ISa vibe we nu oferrxdab xt Godes ibeowdome xtforan his gebyrd-tide' (CH Lxxxix, ed. Thorpe I, 600). In liturgical contexts lofsang commonly means 'hymn', although here it might refer loosely to the responsories at Nocturns (normally OE repsas). The statement in the homily suggests confusion or conflation of the readings for Advent (Isaiah) with those for November (Ezechiel, Daniel and the twelve minor prophets), although in some Cluniac customaries Isaiah and the twelve minor prophets are assigned to ferias in the season of Advent (see CCM 7.4, 37).

i57 'Dominus regnauit' . . . Septuagesima Iola This comment is more relevant to diurnal customs for Advent and Septuagesima (LME 16 and 26) than to the present 'appendix' on Nocturns, and its inclusion here seems an afterthought or a trace of IElfric's cutting-and-splicing method of abridging sources. The unspoken rationale for the custom is the close association in the secular Office between Ps. XCII ('Dominus regnauit') and Sundays or feasts (see, e.g., Amalarius's Lib.off. IV.x.6 and IV.xvii.5-7; similarly his Liber de ordine antiphonarii V.5). At Lauds on certain Sundays in the calendar, however, the monastic Office also made use of this triumphal psalm, though not always in the same way. Elfric's only prior mention of a special use of Ps. XCII occurs in his description of Lauds of Easter Sunday (LME 47, adapted from RC 79), but there the inclusion results de facto from the wholesale substitution of the secular for the monastic Office - i.e., Ps. XCII always replaces Ps. L ('Miserere mei') as the first for Sunday Lauds in the secular cursus (see above, n. 243). Here LME 75 notes a similar use of Ps. XCII on Sundays in Advent and on Septuagesima Sunday, meaning that on these occasions Ps. XCII takes the place of Ps. L (the second psalm sung daily at monastic Lauds), even though the Office does not otherwise follow the secular form, as it would on Easter. Tolhurst's remarks (p. 196), however, seem to conflate the use of Ps. XCII on Advent Sundays and Septuagesima Sunday (within the otherwise monastic Office) with its use in Easter (within the secular Office). Hallinger's note to LME 75, 183.16 mentions no analogues in other monastic customaries, but a pseudo-Amalarian commentary on the differences between the Roman and Benedictine Offices - possibly written by the celebrated Ademar of Chabannes (d. c. 1034) - does take special note of the distinctive monastic use of Ps. XCII on Advent Sundays and Septuagesima Sunday; see *De regales Sancti Benedicti praecipui abatis*, cc. XVI, XXXVI and XLIII (AEOLO III, 276, 282 and 284).

LME 76 Christmas

'Primo tempore alleuiata est' ... 'Consolamini' . . . 'Con.vcrge, coruurge, induere' Isa. IX.I-X.4, XL.I-XLI.20 and LII.1-15. These are the incipits given in all versions of OR XIII (terminations supplied from OR XIII B. 14). Once again fElfric's adherence to the wording of his source (ultimately dependent on OR XIII A.13) gives the impression of an Office of nine lessons. Other monastic customaries adapt the provision so that the readings from Isaiah are followed by a fourth to

complete the first Nocturn. Some Cluniac sources, for example, add as a fourth reading either the pseudo-Augustinian sermon beginning 'Omnes scripturae' or Proverbs VIII.12 ff.; see CCM 7.4, 38, and cf. commentary to LIME 71 (at it. 337), above, and 77 (at n. 363), below. On Christmas some medieval sources would also admit an Office of a single (festal) secular Nocturn, as at Easter and Pentecost (Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 150), but Ailfric's added mention of *sermones patrum*, in addition to the three lessons from Isaiah, indicates more than a single Nocturn here.

'S9 'Koclie nobis' CAO 11, series 19b.

LIME 77 From Christmas through the Octave of Epiphany

360 de ipsa festiuitate Natiuitatis Domini For readings and responsories, see LME 76 and commentary above, at no. 358-9.

'61 sermones congruentes ... responsoria (le Natiuitate Dornini canir/ rs The responsories are those of Christmas, but the sermoner are proper to the Octave, also the feast of the Circumcision (1 January). OR XIII A. 17, B. 18 and D. 16 indicate that the readings on the Octave may either be those of Christmas or proper to the Circumcision. The use of scriptural lessons, if any, on this feast is not clear.

362 de ipsis legirnus et canimus That is, repetition of the propers for these saints on 2-4 January; cf. LME 21 above (with commentary at it. 85), which requires Vespers antiphons proper to these saints' days with the psalms as of Christmas (second) Vespers. As Hall observes ('Some Liturgical Notes', p. 300), it is odd that fElfric refers to the Octaves of these feasts but not to the feasts themselves. OR XIII A.11-16 assigns readings from Acts to the feast of St Stephen and from the Apocalypse to the feasts of St John and the Holy Innocents; OR XIII B.15-17 is even more specific, namely: Acts VI.1-VIII.8 (Stephen), Rev. I.1-IV.11 (John) and Rev. V.1-XI.19 (Holy Innocents). For the responsory series on these days, see CAO II, series 20a-b, 21 b--c and 226-c.

363 'Omnes sitientes' ... 'Surge inluminare' . . . 'Gaudens gaudebo in Domino' Isa. LV.1-13, LX.1-22 and LXI.10-LXIV.4 (terminations supplied from OR XIII B.19). For the accompanying responsories, see CAO II, series 24b-c. Again the mention of only three scriptural lessons (ultimately reflecting OR XIII A.18) suggests the imperfect adaptation of a secular source; cf. commentary to LME 71 (at n. 337) and 76 (at n. 358). One solution, attested in Cluny-influenced

sources (see CCM 7.4, 42), was to keep these readings but divide the first into Isa. LV.1-5 and 6-13, yielding the expected total of four in the first Nocturn.

164 *epistolas Pauli uel tractus psalmodum* This conforms to OR XIII A.20: '*praeter has festiuitates [thus, in the period from Christmas to the Octave of Epiphany] .. . ponunt apostolum uel decadas psalmodum Sancti Agustini [sic] usque in septuagesima*'. The corresponding series of lections in Port.Wulst. II, 38-9, bearing the rubric '*Dominicis diebus*', begins with Rom. XII.1 but also includes lessons from some nonPauline epistles, viz., two readings from I John and one from I Peter. According to LME 71 and OR XIII A.6 these readings and all others drawn from the seven canonical epistles belong to the second week after Easter. The *decadae* mentioned are probably sequential readings from Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos*; see Hallinger's note to LME 77, 184.12-13, and Martimort, *Lectures liturgiques*, p. 80.

365 '*Domine ne in ira tua*' CAO II, series 26b-c and 139a *De psalmis*'; also Port.Wulst. II, 38-9.

LME 78 The continuation of readings in the refectory

366 *legimus in refectorio quicquid de ea in ecclesia omittimus* This solution was widely adopted as supplementary devotions and votive Offices effectively limited the time available for Nocturns. Just how much of the Bible would have to be read in the refectory may be surmised from AElfric's outline for the period of Septuagesima through Lent (LME 70): of the entire Heptateuch he assigns only Genesis and Exodus to the seven weeks from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday. Since he does not make allowance for Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges (or Ruth, often grouped with these) at any other time in the year, it seems reasonable that these books, if read at all, were also taken up in Lent - in compliance with the general scheme of OR XI.1 - but in the refectory rather than in church (Garth, 'The Office', p. 355). The burden of finishing the historical books (see LME 72-4) would be alleviated somewhat by 7Elfric's unusual insistence that on *ferias* in the summer period the monks read three lessons (as in winter) instead of the single one required by Benedict; on this notable departure from contemporary practice, see LME 80 and below, n. 368.

LME 79 Formulas for terminating the readings

367 'Haec dicit Dominus' ... 'Tit autem Domine, miserere nostri' These formulas, recited at the conclusion of each lesson, are standard; see Hughes, § 415.

LME 80 Lessons on summer ferias; repetition of Sunday masses

It *tre* *lectione.c* ... *earn* *preteritic anni.c* *tenuinrus* The provision stands out as atypical and even surprising, given Ælfric's acknowledgement at LME 57 that the hours of darkness during an English summer are not sufficient to accommodate the interval between Nocturns and Lauds prescribed by the *Ride* (see above, n. 283). On *ferias* in summer, to complete three readings and still begin Lauds at first light (RSB, c. VIII.4: '*incipience lute*'), the Eynsham monks would have to rise even earlier for the Night Office. The supererogatory nature of this custom runs counter to A-1fric's tendency to simplify some rituals prescribed in his sources (see Gatch, *The Office*', pp. 355-6, and '*Old English Literature and the Liturgy*', p. 242). From another perspective, however, the insistence on three readings in the summer accords well with fTlfric's reputation for rigour in certain matters, even by the standards of his own fellow reformers (see above, p. 13). A lfric's tone suggests that the practice, if nor his own invention, was at least quite dear to him, though no available evidence indicates that three readings in summer were the custom at A--thelwold's Old Minster (cf. *Life of St z thelumld*, eel. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. lxxvii-lxxvii).

Ælfric's phrase *jam preteriti.r annis tenuimur* presents difficulties of interpretation that bear directly on the origins of this provision and on the dating of the whole customary. Gatch renders the sentence (p. 356, n. 49) '*... that we maintained three lections with as many responsories the whole summer at Nocturns as in winter in past years*'. The syntax is a little strange: *at* + indicative here seems equivalent to a noun clause, not unlike OE /irtt + indicative. But the implications of the clause, construed with *jam preterith annir*, are clear enough: the LME - or at least this final section of it - was written two or more years after Ælfric became head of the community he is now addressing. In dating the LME close to the refounding of Eynsham (c. 1005), opinion has perhaps placed too much weight on the comparatively vague phrase *nuper rogattr T-ielmeeri* in the preface (LME I); see above, pp. 10-1 1.

369 *it quod rni.rsa.c donznicas ... ut salterrz ter celebrentur* The words *et quad* here continue the earlier construction begun with *Volo ... uos core ... ualde graturn nrihi fore, quad ...* The mass of

each Sunday would normally be repeated daily through the following week, except on feast days with their own *propers*. *Ferias* in Lent had long since acquired proper masses of their own, however, so that repetition of Sunday masses was effectively suspended (see Hughes, § 517). LMF_80 marks an exception to this arrangement by encouraging a limited repetition of Sunday masses even in Lent. In his commentary to LME 80, 185.6-9, Hallinger adduces one analogue from the Cluny-derived *Consuetudines Vallunzhroranae* (ed. CCM 7.2, 315-79) wherein Sunday masses *per annzrnz* are also limited to two repetitions, but these are fixed on Tuesday and Thursday.

X70 *similiter omnia dominica mis/as . . . ne uilicere uideantur* To construe the last sentence as it stands in the manuscript takes some effort. The case of *omnia dominica missa* may be explained by an extension of the earlier verb *repetitur*, or, as I have supplied, a subjunctive *repetatis*. The subject of the clause *ut . . . ter celebrentur* is accordingly understood as *dominicae missae*. The qualifying phrase *in festiuitatibus intercurrentibus* is also difficult, since *intercurrere* may take an accusative object, and one is left uncertain whether *festiuitates* is the subject or object of *intercurrentibus*. The present translation assumes the former, though the latter is at least possible (the subject would then again be *dominicae missae*, understood). The translation of *tantummodo* as 'as many as' instead of the more usual 'only' seems necessary to avoid a contradiction. Otherwise IElfric now seems concerned to limit the repetitions to three, even though he has just implied that this is the minimum (cf. *saltem* in the previous sentence), not maximum, desired. IElfric's Latin is seldom so obscure as in this passage, and the high concentration of interpretative cruxes in the last sentence may indicate a corrupted text. Even so, I understand his general meaning to be that Sunday masses throughout the year, even in Lent, shall be repeated at least as the matutinal mass on the following Monday and Tuesday.

APPENDIX

Concordance of section divisions in the Regularis concordia

This book has most often cited the Symons-Spath edition of the Regularis concordia in the CCM (1984), although at present the most widely available text may still be Thomas Symons's edition and translation of 1953. Because the CCM and Symons (1953) use different section divisions, and because the most recent edition by Lucia Kornexl (1993) follows the latter, I include the following table of correspondences to facilitate comparison of the editions of Symons and Kornexl with texts in the CCM.

RC (CCM) section	=	RC (Symons) and RC (Kornexl) section
1–10		1–10 (<i>pari passu</i>)
11–13		11
14		12
15–19		14–18 (<i>pari passu</i>)
20–2		19
23–5		20
26–7		21–2 (<i>pari passu</i>)
28–9		23
30–1		24
32–4		25
35		26
36–8		27
39		28
40–2		29
43–4		30
45–9		31
50–3		32
54		33
55–8		34

59–60	35–6 (<i>pari passu</i>)
61 (to p. 109.17)	37
61 (from p. 109.17)–62	38
63	39
64–6	40
67–8	41
69–71	42
72–3 (to p. 116.4)	43
73 (from p. 116.5)	44–5
74	46
75–6	47
77	48–9
78–9 (to p. 124.8)	50
79 (from p. 124.8 to 126.7)	51
79 (from p. 126.7)	52
80	53
81–2	54
83	55
84–5	56
86–7	57
88	58
89–90	59
91–2	60
93–5	61–3 (<i>pari passu</i>)
96–7	64
98–9 (to p. 141.21)	65
99 (from p. 142.1)	66
100–1	67
102–3	68
104	69

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Index of liturgical formae

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³ S. B. Greenfield and D. G. Calder, with M. Lapidge, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1986), p. 75. The judgement is typical; cf. R. M. Hogg, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume I: The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. R. M. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 1–25, at 16.

¹ 'I am a professed monk, and every day I shall sing the seven liturgical hours with my brothers, and I keep busy with reading and chanting' (*Colloquy*, ed. Garmonsway, p. 19, lines 13–15).

² 'I think that the service of God holds chief place among these skills, as it says in the gospel: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be added unto you" [cf. Matt. VI.33]' (*Colloquy*, ed. Garmonsway, p. 39, lines 213–16). On the centrality of monasticism in this dialogue, see E. R. Anderson, 'Social Idealism in Ælfric's "Colloquy"', *ASE* 3 (1974), 153–62, at pp. 158–9, and J. Ruffing, 'The Labor Structure of Ælfric's Colloquy', in *The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labor in Medieval England*, ed. A. J. Frantzen and D. Moffat (Glasgow, 1994), pp. 55–70.

⁴ Adumbrated by Gatch, 'The Office', pp. 348–9 and 352–62.

⁹ *LME* 1: 'aliqua quae regula nostra non tangit'.

¹⁰ *Excerpta ex institutionibus*, ed. Bateson. Subsequent references to the text occur throughout her 'Rules for Monks' and 'A Worcester Cathedral Book'.

¹¹ The unfortunate critical history of the *LME* is discussed below, ch. 4. Gatch ('The Office', pp. 348–9) urges a renaming, calling it variously 'Ælfric's Customary for Eynsham' or simply 'the Eynsham Customary'. The latter suggestion, however, would invite confusion with another famous 'Eynsham Customary' of the fourteenth century, which has nothing to do with Ælfric's text; see *The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Eynsham in Oxfordshire*, ed. A. Gransden, CCM 2 (Siegburg, 1963).

⁵ On the manuscript and its implications, see below, ch. 3.

⁶ *LME* 1: 'Abbot Ælfric to the brothers of Eynsham: Greetings in Christ.' All references are to the section numbers of the present edition, which in turn correspond to the editorial divisions of *Ælfrici abbatís epístula*, ed. Nocent.

⁷ On this text as a source, see below, pp. 19–58.

⁸ Gatch, 'The Office', p. 347. Such detailed descriptions were necessary because the *Rule* covered only the essentials of monasticism and did not reflect the significant changes in the life and liturgy that took place in the centuries after Benedict's death (c. 550). On the evolution of the term *consuetudo* (or plural, *consuetudines*) in this technical sense, see the opening chapter of *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae*, ed. K. Hallinger, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), and E. Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques: Le Moyen Age: Des origines au xiii^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 221–7. On extant Anglo-Saxon customaries, see Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', p. 136. Apart from the *LME* and the *Regularis concordia* (and derivatives thereof), Gneuss's list includes only one other item, the post-Conquest and non-native *Decreta* or 'Monastic Constitutions' of Archbishop Lanfranc.

¹⁵ *LME* 80, noted by Gatch, 'The Office', p. 348, n. 28.

¹² See, for example, commentary to *LME* 25–6, 29–30, 32–3 and 44.

¹³ For example, in prefaces to the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and to the letters to Sigeward and Sigefyrth, and in the Latin preface to the Old English letters to Archbishop Wulfstan (Briefe II–III). These are all now conveniently assembled in *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox.

¹⁴ Hohler, 'Some Service-Books', p. 73.

¹⁶ Dietrich, 'Abt Ælfrik'; White, *Ælfric*; Dubois, *Ælfric*; Clemoes, 'Ælfric'; Hurt, *Ælfric*; and now also the introduction to *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox. Recovering the facts of Ælfric's career has been closely linked to the establishment of his canon, for which see Clemoes, 'Chronology', and the introduction to Pope's *Supplementary Collection I*, 136–45.

²³ Squibb, 'Foundation'. The Cernel charter (S 1217) states that Æthelmær's gift occurred a few years after the foundation of the abbey. Squibb's principal evidence that 'a few' equals twelve years or more lies in the finding of a very late (1440) enquiry that King Edgar donated a manor at Muston (Musterston) to one John, abbot of Cerne ('Foundation', p. 13). Yorke ('Æthelmær', p. 22) accepts this part of Squibb's argument and further suggests that the actual founder may have been some member of the previous generation of Æthelmær's family.

¹⁸ The charter is witnessed by Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury, who died on 16 November 1005. The earliest surviving manuscript is the copy preserved in the twelfth-century portion of the Eynsham cartulary (Oxford, Christ Church, Eynsham Cart.). For other manuscripts and editions of the charter, see *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. Sawyer, p. 278 (= S 911), plus addenda and corrigenda to this entry by M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, SEEH 7 (Leicester, 1979), 138–9 (no. 290).

- ¹⁹ The epithet *se greata* ('the fat' or 'the stout') is given to Æthelmær in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *s.a.* 1017, and attested in late medieval reflexes such as 'Ailmerus Grossus', 'Almari le Grete' and 'magni Almari' (see *EC* II, 68, 37 and 57). The family of Ealdorman Æthelweard has been much discussed; see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (Oxford, 1908–19), *s.v.* 'Ethelwerd'; *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. Whitelock, pp. 144–5; Flower, 'The Script of the Exeter Book', pp. 87–9; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. Robertson, pp. 386–7; and *Chronicon Æthelwardi*, ed. Campbell, pp. xii–xvi. More recent and reliable are Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 192 and 209–10, and Yorke, 'Æthelmær'.
- ²⁰ For the impact of this friendship on Ælfric's works, see Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, pp. 48–9.
- ²¹ Æthelweard's last certain attestation of a charter occurs in 998, and he is assumed to have died in that year or shortly thereafter; see Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 192, n. 139. Keynes rejects the basis of an alternate death-date of 1002 accepted by Whitelock (*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 145), Robertson (*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 387) and, with important implications for the chronology of Ælfric's career, Clemons ('Chronology', p. 243). Æthelmær's presumed succession to his father's office is problematic; see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 197–8, n. 163.
- ²² 'abbatem sanctę monachorum congregationi preferre se uiuente instituit'. At the end of the charter (after the bounds and before the witness list), an Old English appendix, seemingly dictated by Æthelmær himself, repeats these terms: 'And <ic> wille þere beo ofer hi ealdor þe þær nu is þa hwile þe his lif beo' (*EC* I, 19–28, at pp. 20 and 24). Note the implication that the appointment has already been made. There may also be a discrepancy between the terms of the Latin 'se uiuente' (referring to Æthelmær?) and the Old English, where 'þa hwile þe his lif beo' refers to the abbot. The inference that the unnamed abbot is Ælfric is wholly circumstantial, since the assertion that he witnessed the charter (e.g., White, *Ælfric*, p. 62; Hurt, *Ælfric*, p. 37) rests on a misreading of the name *Ælfrige* that occurs twice in the witness list; see *EC* I, 27, n. 2, and Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 260.
- ¹⁷ E.g., White, *Ælfric*, p. 63; *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, p. xlvii; Clemons, 'Chronology', p. 245; Hurt, *Ælfric*, p. 38; and Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, p. 37. The title page of Nocent's edition in the CCM gives the date 'post 1004' without explanation (likewise at CCM 7.1, 157: 'verfaßt nach 1004').
- ²⁴ *EC* I, 20: 'Wherefore I, Æthelred . . . have taken care to record in truthful written testimony that, at the petition of Æthelmær, a man most loyal and dear to me, I am establishing an unconditional privilege of freedom for his monastery, duly dedicated to the honour of the holy Saviour and all his saints, located beside the river called Thames in a famous spot named Eynsham by the inhabitants of that region' (trans. mine; see also Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, pp. 10 and 15).

²⁹ Thus Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, p. 31, though Ælfric's text does not easily accommodate this hypothesis. Apart from the fact that the *LME* is not an introduction to the monastic life (see below, pp. 11 and 18), Ælfric devotes much attention to the secular liturgy wherever this replaces the monastic form (i.e., the Triduum and in Easter week). Arguably, this emphasis would better serve an audience of monks (relatively unfamiliar with the secular Office) than clerks; see commentary to *LME* 34 (at n. 181), 47 (at nn. 240 and 243–4) and 48 (at nn. 245–6, 248–50 and 254).

³⁰ Yorke ('Æthelmær', p. 20) implies that Æthelmær's act at Eynsham was a refoundation. On the nostalgia of the tenth-century reformers, see Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', pp. 38–41.

25 Squibb, 'Foundation', p. 14.

²⁶ *EC* I, 20: 'Æthelmær received the monastery from his son-in-law, Æthelweard, through an exchange, and for those thirty *mansiunculae* [i.e., Eynsham and its lands] gave thirty-six *mansiones* divided over three locations . . .' The terms of the exchange that follow are translated and discussed by D. Hooke, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, SASH 2 (Woodbridge, 1990), 328–9; the Old English bounds are translated by Salter, *EC* I, 24–6, Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, pp. 24–5, and analysed in detail by G. B. Grundy, *Saxon Oxfordshire: Charters and Highways*, Oxfordshire Record Society 15 (Oxford, 1933), 33–6. For other lands that may have been part of the original endowment but are not mentioned in S 911, see *EC* I, viii. On the economic rationale of the original endowment, see Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, pp. 20–5 and 155–6.

²⁷ *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, p. 63: 'The first [documentary evidence] is the agreement of c. 821 by which the archbishop of Canterbury relinquished to King Coenwulf of Mercia . . . a 300-hide estate at *Iogneshomme*, almost certainly Eynsham . . . The second text [S 210], dated 864, is a grant by the Mercian king of five hides at Water Eaton, the grantee to pay 30s. "to Eynsham to that church" after one year, which looks very much like compensation for the dispersal of monastic lands.' On the prehistory of Eynsham, see also Blair's 'The Minsters on the Thames', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. J. Blair and B. Golding (Oxford, 1996), pp. 5–28.

²⁸ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp. 114–16. Details of the excavations at Eynsham from 1989 to 1991 and of additional minor digs are summarized by D. R. M. Gaimster, S. Margeson, M. Hurley and B. S. Nenkin in *Mediaeval Archaeology* 34 (1990), 207; 35 (1991), 180–3; 36 (1992), 257–8; and 38 (1994), 240–1.

32 *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, pp. 222–7 (Brief 2a), at 222.

³¹ On the younger Æthelweard, see Flower, 'The Script', Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 192 and 209–10, and additional remarks by P. W. Conner, 'A Contextual Study of the Old English Exeter Book' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Univ. of Maryland, 1975), pp. 29–37. The most recent biographical summary is by Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', pp. 67–70. It is supposed that Æthelweard II married a daughter of Æthelmær named Æthelflæd (the granddaughter of the senior Ealdorman Æthelweard). Æthelmær's own son (also named Æthelweard) was put to death by Cnut in 1017, so his son-in-law (Æthelweard II) succeeded to the ealdorom of the western provinces, which he held until he was outlawed in 1020 for conspiracy against Cnut. Æthelweard II's possession of a large estate in Oxfordshire, Eynsham, prompts Keynes to speculate ('Cnut's Earls', p. 68, n. 142; see also *Diplomas*, p. 212) that he might even be identified with Æthelweard the brother of Eadric Streona and, consequently, a member of a family in rivalry with Æthelmær's.

³³ *LME* 1: 'because you have recently been ordained to the monastic habit at Æthelmær's request'.

³⁴ *LME* 80: 'I also wish you to know, dearest brothers, how very pleased I am that you have obediently agreed with me on this matter: namely, that *for years now* we have retained three lessons and the same number of responsories at Nocturns for the whole summer period just as in winter' (emphasis added). On the grammatical difficulties of this passage, see the commentary to *LME* 80 and cf. the trans. by Gatch, 'The Office', p. 356, n. 49. Bateson also called attention to the key phrase *iam preteritis annis*, but in a different context; see her 'Rules for Monks', p. 702, n. 48.

³⁵ The implications of *LME* 80 have passed unnoticed, even though some scholars have allowed that Ælfric arrived at Eynsham before the often-cited date of 1005: e.g., *Excerpta ex institutionibus*, ed. Bateson, p. 174, White, *Ælfric*, pp. 61 and 63, Hurt, *Ælfric*, p. 37 and Dubois, *Ælfric*, p. 63. The assumption may also explain the date 'post 1004' in the CCM edition.

³⁶ E.g., White, *Ælfric*, p. 63. More significantly, the assumption appears to have influenced Fehr, much of whose relative chronology is taken over in the now-standard treatment by Clemons ('Chronology', pp. 241 and 243); see below, p. 25, n. 26.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11. See the *Chronicle*, s.a. 1006: 'In the same year Wulfgeat was deprived of all his property, and Wulfheah and Ufegeat were blinded and Ealdorman Ælfhelm killed' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Whitelock *et al.*, p. 87).

⁴² Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 212–14. According to the *Chronicle* (versions C, D and E), the year 1005 also saw an abatement of the Scandinavian attacks, perhaps related to the great famine reported in that year.

³⁷ EC I, 20: 'ipse patris uice fungens uiuensque communiter inter eos'. Elsewhere (*ibid.* I, vii, n. 4) Salter remarks, 'Perhaps the words [*scil.* 'uiuens communiter inter eos'] only mean "sharing the property with them"'. Salter does not give reasons for questioning the literal sense of the Latin, but only refers to the corresponding Old English (see following note) with its added phrase *þære are mid him notian*.

³⁸ EC I, 24: '7 ic me sylf wille mid þære geferrædene gemænelice libban. 7 þære are mid him notian þa hwile þe min lif bið' ('And I myself will live in common with the convent and enjoy the possessions with them during my life' (trans. Salter, EC I, 27); cf. Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, p. 28).

³⁹ Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 188, 192–3 and 197–8, n. 163; also Yorke, 'Æthelmær', p. 19.

40 Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 209–10.

⁴⁵ The king refers to Æthelmær as 'uiro ualde fidelissimo michi quoque dilectissimo', and Æthelmær to the monarch as 'minon leofan hlaforde Æpelrede cyngre' (EC I, 20 and 24).

⁴⁶ Keynes makes a forceful case for a royal scriptorium as the principal agent in charter production in Æthelred's reign; see the third chapter of his *Diplomas* (esp. pp. 134–53). Consensus on the issue, however, does not appear to be forthcoming; Keynes (*ibid.*, pp. 14–28) offers a lucid survey of the history of the debate.

⁴⁷ The assumption of monastic origins for S 911 must underlie the curious speculation that Ælfric himself drafted that charter. I can trace this suggestion back no further than Dietrich ('Abt Ælfrik', p. 240) and White (*Ælfrik*, pp. 60–1), though it has resurfaced as recently as 1991 (Campbell, 'England, c. 991', p. 14). If the assertion rests on a claim that the charter is composed 'in the clear, graceful Latin of Ælfric's other Latin works' (thus Hurt, *Ælfrik*, p. 37), it has no merit, for S 911 departs little, if at all, from the pretentious style typical of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon charters. Any statement about the authorship of S 911 must also take into account the extensive verbatim parallels in another charter (S 792 = King Edgar to Thorney, dated 973, though probably a forgery), and the relation of both of these, in turn, to the proem of the *Regularis concordia*; see C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, SEEH 5 (Leicester, 1966), 176, n. 2, and also below, p. 45, n. 111. On a possible echo of S 911 in the *LME*, see the present commentary to *LME* 63 (at n. 298).

⁴³ Suggested by Yorke, 'Æthelmær', pp. 19–20. A different interpretation is offered by Campbell, who suggests that Eynsham may have been chosen in the hopes – vain, as time would soon prove – that areas so far inland would be safe from Scandinavian assault; see his 'England c. 991', p. 15.

- 49 Though he might have re-entered secular life to assume, or resume, the office of ealdorman before 1013, his name does not return to the witness lists until that year; see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 209–10, nn. 202–3. Our Æthelmær is to be distinguished from another prominent Æthelmær *minister* who attests frequently in the years 1005–9.
- 50 On political concerns at the margins of the *LME*, see below, pp. 43–9.
- 48 ‘Then King Swein turned from there [*scil.* London] to Wallingford, and so went across the Thames to Bath, where he stayed with his army. Then Ealdorman Æthelmær came there, and with him the western thegns, and all submitted to Swein, and they gave him hostages’ (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Whitelock *et al.*, p. 92).
- 55 *EC* I, ix–xii and xxxi. It is sometimes asserted that Stow was refounded by Bishop Eadnoth I of Dorchester (1006–16) from Eynsham; see J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 75, and Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 66 and 721 (Table I). The sole evidence for this claim is the presence of certain pre-Conquest documents pertaining to Stow in the Eynsham Cartulary, but there is no definite link between Eynsham and Stow before Remigius’s transplantation of 1091, on which see Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, p. 61.
- 51 Few will hazard an estimate of the size of a community for which records are so scarce, but see D. H. Farmer’s conjectures about Ælfric’s previous house, Cernel, in ‘The Monastic Reform of the 10th Century and Cerne Abbas’, in *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. Barker, pp. 1–10, at 6. Some implications of the *LME* for the layout of Eynsham Abbey receive passing notice in Spurrell’s ‘Architectural Interest’, pp. 173–4.
- 52 Salter’s introduction to the *Eynsham Cartulary* (I, ix–xxxii) includes a detailed history of the abbey down to the Dissolution; see also his article in *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, ed. W. Page (London, 1907) II, 65–7, as well as E. Chambers, *Eynsham Under the Monks*, Oxfordshire Record Society 18 (Oxford, 1936), and Gordon’s *Eynsham Abbey*.
- 53 Edited among the *additamenta* to *Matthæi Parisiensis chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 6 vols., Rolls Series 57 (London, 1872–82) VI, 29–30. A recently discovered transcript of the Old English original is discussed by S. Keynes, ‘A Lost Cartulary of St Albans Abbey’, *ASE* 22 (1993), 253–79, at pp. 266–7, and Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp. 107 and 138–40; see also Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey*, pp. 43–4. The Latin edition by J. M. Kemble (*Codex diplomaticus æui Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London 1839–48) IV, no. 950) gives the erroneous reading *Hauuensis* for *Egneshamiensis*.

⁵⁴ *Magna uita sancti Hugonis: The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, ed. and trans. D. L. Douie and H. Farmer, 2 vols. (London, 1961–2) II, 39: ‘Blessed bishop Remigius, who had founded the magnificent cathedral church of Lincoln shortly after the conquest, had refounded the ruined abbey [*scil.* Eynsham], from which the monks had fled out fear of the enemy.’

¹ On the long confusion over the nature of Ælfric’s customary and its relation to the *Regularis concordia*, see below, ch. 4. On customaries generally, see also above, p. 3, n. 8.

² This claim (at *LME* 1) is problematic; see below, nn. 48 and 53.

³ The tripartite structure was pointed out by Gatch, ‘The Office’, pp. 348–9. These divisions are indicated in the manuscript by the use of coloured initials (the first letters of *LME* 1, 2 and 70) and rubrics (‘Finiunt consuetudines’ at the end of *LME* 69). The only other use of colours in the entire text is in *LME* 69, with the heading ‘Oratio pro defuncto fratre’ in red and a green initial in the prayer ‘Satisfaciat’.

⁶ There are fourteen such references. In addition to that in the preface (*LME* 1: ‘libro consuetudinum’), see also *LME* 9, 26, 28–30, 33, 36–7, 40, 58, 60, 62 and 63. The explicit-phrase *Finiunt consuetudines* at *LME* 69 (*q.v.* in the commentary, at n. 319) separates the main portion of Ælfric’s customary from his appended *ordo lectionum* and suggests that Ælfric perceived his own work as being fundamentally of the same genre as the *Regularis concordia*.

⁷ On Ælfric’s disclosure of sources as part of his self-definition within the reformed tradition, see Hill, ‘Reform and Resistance’.

⁴ *LME* 1: ‘haec pauca de libro consuetudinum quem sanctus Adælwoldus Wintoniensis episcopus . . . undique collegit ac monachis instituit obseruandum’.

⁵ Arguments over the authorship of the *Concordia* (insofar as a composite text may be said to have an ‘author’) now strongly favour Æthelwold, based on the evidence of Ælfric’s testimony at *LME* 1, the Latin style of certain parts of the *Concordia* and the emphases shared by both the proem to the *Concordia* and the Old English prose tract known as ‘King Edgar’s Establishment of the Monasteries’, see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. xxxi–l. More controversial are the date and circumstances of the Winchester council that led to the text (see *ibid.*, pp. xxiv–xxx) and the extent of its adoption as a national standard (see *ibid.*, pp. li–lvi).

⁹ *Monastic Order*, p. 43. Kornexl’s analysis suggests how the structure might have been more lucid to its intended audience than to modern readers; see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. lvii–lxxxiii.

⁸ Important treatments include Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan*; F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 433–69, Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 16–82; John, ‘The King and the Monks’; Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, pp. 180–200; and Wormald, ‘Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts’. On the *Concordia* and its function in the movement, see RC (Symons), pp. ix–xxviii (introduction), which also serves, with some alterations, as the introduction to the collaborative edition in CCM 7.1, 371–92. On all aspects of the *Concordia* and its backgrounds, see the introduction to RC (Kornexl) and summary in Kornexl, ‘The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss’.

¹³ Cotton Faustina B. iii (= RC (Fa)) is the base manuscript of the Symons–Spath edition in CCM 7.3 (1984), 69–147. The most recent edition from Cotton Tiberius A. iii (= RC (Ti)), with its Old English gloss, is RC (Kornexl), pp. 1–149. Earlier editions based on RC (Ti) are RC (Symons) of 1953 (Latin only, with partial collations with RC (Fa)), and Logeman, ‘De Consuetudine Monachorum’ (Latin and Old English gloss).

¹⁴ To list only the most significant: the order of the various sections of the proem is hopelessly confused in (Fa); instead of the list of chapter headings found in (Ti), (Fa) contains only the instructions, probably copied from an exemplar, ‘hic inserenda sunt capitula’; (Ti) includes the rubric ‘Explicuit liber’ shortly before the actual end of the customary; in both (Ti) and (Fa) the presence of ch. 6, on the duties of the officer known as the *circa*, is awkwardly inserted between chapters on the order of the liturgy from Easter to Pentecost; (Fa) does not contain the so-called epilogue – the exemption of monasteries from the payment of a tax known as the heriot. These differences are summarized and discussed by RC (Symons), pp. lv–lvi; see also the introduction at CCM 7.1, 159–60, and RC (Kornexl), pp. cv–cviii and cxliii–cxlvii.

¹⁵ RC (Kornexl), p. cxliv: ‘The inadequacies of both texts raise the question of possible deficiencies in the original version of the RC . . . It appears . . . entirely plausible that . . . “perfect” copies were prepared later, while the first version of the rule, which was undoubtedly composed under the pressure of a deadline, was not yet complete and ordered in every respect. It would accordingly be a mistake to proceed from [the idea of] one, definitive original of the RC and to measure the later tradition (especially the two extant witnesses) according to the ideal of this supposedly authoritative version of the text. Perhaps we ought to conceive of the archetype of the RC as a collection of individual chapters, not yet bound together, the “unripe” condition of which was, in varying measure, reproduced and passed down by the first copies . . .’ (trans. mine). See also *ibid.*, pp. lix and cvii–cviii, and Kornexl, ‘The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss’, pp. 108–9.

¹⁰ See Hill, ‘The “Regularis Concordia”’, updating RC (Symons), pp. liii–lviii. The most complete discussion of the manuscripts is that in RC (Kornexl), pp. xcvi–clv, and Kornexl, ‘The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss’, pp. 104–11.

¹¹ For the foliation of the original manuscript, see Ker, *Catalogue*, item 155. On the theory that this copy was originally part of a ‘booklet’ of related material, see RC (Kornexl), pp. ci and cxii–cxvi.

- ¹² The portion of the manuscript containing the *Concordia* is variously dated to the middle or second half of the eleventh century; on the dates, see Ker, *Catalogue*, item 186 (s. xi^{med}); cf. *RC* (Symons), p. lv (s. xi²). On the localization, see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. cxxii–cxxiv. On the supplements to the *Regula S. Benedicti*, see Bateson, 'Rules for Monks', pp. 694–5, and H. Sauer, 'Die Ermahnung des Pseudo-Fulgentius zur Benediktregel und ihre altenglische Glossierung', *Anglia* 102 (1984), 419–25. Inclusion of the *Regularis concordia* in such a collection promoted a view of English monastic reform as a development of Carolingian precedents; see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. cxxv–cxli, and R. Deshman, 'Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988), 204–40.
- ¹⁶ Minor instances in which Ælfric's copy of the *Concordia* differed from either version have long been acknowledged; see, e.g., Clemoes's 'Supplement to the Introduction', *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, p. cxlvi, n. 94; but cf. commentary to *LME* 32 (at n. 170). See also below, n. 33.
- ¹⁷ A comparison between the *LME* and manuscripts of the source reveals that the most common variants are fluctuations between singular and plural verb forms (though such discrepancies might hinge only on a scribe's forgetting or wrongly supplying a titulus) and between indicatives and subjunctives.
- ¹⁸ For example, *LME* 18 and *RC* (Fa) 46 *si nondum diei* [*dies* *LME* manuscript] *aurora eluxerit*, agreeing against *RC* (Ti), where the phrase is omitted. The omission of the phrase in (Ti) is probably the result of a scribe's anticipation of a similar phrase introducing the next sentence; see *RC* (Kornexl), p. 261 (commentary to lines 695–6). Elsewhere, Ælfric's reading is closer to the Tiberius manuscript; e.g., *LME* 68 and *RC* (Ti) 101 *epistola* agree against *RC* (Fa) *epistula*.
- ¹⁹ The excerpts – which combine extracts from the *Concordia* with additions from Amalarius's *Liber officialis* and other sources – constitute a significant analogue to the *LME*. The similarities led Fehr to attribute them, plus adjacent extracts from Amalarius in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 (see below, n. 178), to Ælfric himself. Partial editions are included as 'Anhang III: Teile aus Aelfrics Priesterauszug', in *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, pp. 234–43. Clemoes rejected the attribution to Ælfric, pointing out that the *LME* and 'commonplace book' excerpts draw on the same sources but often in different ways; see his 'The Old English Benedictine Office' and 'Supplement to the Introduction', *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, pp. cxlvi–cxlvii. For textual links between the *DEC* and Eynsham 'letter', see commentary to *LME* 16 (at n. 74), 32 (at n. 170), 43 (at n. 219) and 46 (at nn. 232 and 234), and further discussion in Jones, 'Two Composite Texts'.
- ²⁴ Brief III.60 (emphasis added): 'And on that day you shall not sing the offertory nor the "Agnus Dei" nor exchange the peace.' The provision is the same in all four manuscripts. For the more problematic remainder of the phrase in (Ti), *nisi qui communicent*, there is no support at all.

²⁰ CH I.ix and xiv, ed. Thorpe I, 150 and 218.

²¹ See *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, Briefe I.120–32 and III.23–63 and 178–81. The latter of the two pastorals is thought to stand quite close in date to the *LME*, and the similarities between the two are indeed strong; see Clemons, ‘Supplement to the Introduction’, *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, p. cxlv; but on the chronology, see also below, n. 26.

²² The pastorals are occasionally closer in detail to the *Concordia* than to the *LME*; see Brief III.39–41 (lessons, chants and prayers for Good Friday) and III.43–9 (Veneration of the Cross), and cf. *RC* 73 and *LME* 43. Also compare Brief III.23–5 and *RC* 61 (no close correspondences in *LME*).

²³ Kornexl makes a strong case that the phrase is a later addition: it is not glossed in *RC* (Ti) and contradicts teaching elsewhere in the *Concordia*; see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. 320–2 (commentary to lines 1196–7). The phrase is also grammatically troubled; Symons and the CCM editors emend by supplying a finite verb *non* <*debet*> *dare*, etc.

²⁹ For example, subjunctive *dicat* (*RC* 75), *cwæðe* (Brief I.123) and *cwæðe* (Brief III.51) instead of the indicative at *LME* 44 (*dicat tunc abbas*).

³⁰ See above, n. 26.

²⁵ That is, the communion service that is a part of the liturgy of Good Friday. Because priests cannot consecrate the eucharist on this day, they distribute communion from the reserve sacrament blessed on the previous day, Maundy Thursday.

²⁶ The relative chronological order Brief I (992 × 1002), then (c. 1005) Briefe 2 and 3 and the *LME*, followed (c. 1006) by Briefe II and III, has been generally accepted since Fehr (*Hirtenbriefe*, p. xlvii), although his arguments are questionable to the extent that they assume dependence of Brief III on the *LME*. I incline toward Hill’s view that Ælfric drew from the *Concordia* directly for Brief III; see her ‘Monastic Reform and the Secular Church’, p. 107, n. 10.

²⁷ Some fluctuation of these terms may go back to the source (*RC* 75). Conversely, Brief III.54, in a supposedly secular context, refers to the presence of brothers (*gebropuru*), though the term might apply to secular communities. The omitted reference to an assisting deacon in the letter to Wulfsig (at Brief I.122; cf. *LME* 44 and Brief III.50) may also hint at an intended audience of priests who celebrated the liturgy unassisted in parish churches rather than in secular communities.

²⁸ The consistency of the reference seems to favour a written source, as does the strange word order of the earliest version, Brief I.122, suggestive of a translation error: 'Gange se preost syððan to þam Godes weofode mid þære husl-lafe, þe he halgode on þunres-dæg and mid ungehalgodum wine mid wætere gemenged and behelie mid corporale' ('Then the priest shall go to God's altar with the remnant of the eucharist that he blessed on Thursday, and with unblessed wine mixed with water, and he shall cover [?it ?them] with a corporal'). Fehr's translation ('... und bedecke [sie] mit dem Korporale') makes the bread and wine the objects of *behelie*, but the implied object should be *altare*, as it correctly is in the *LME* and Brief III.

³¹ On the status of the phrase *uoce sonora*, see *RC* (Kornexl), p. 313 (commentary to line 1137). Its absence in (Fa) and lack of a gloss in (Ti) suggest to her that the phrase was not part of the 'original' text.

³² The three Ælfrician texts also exhibit strong similarities in their restatement of the final provisions about placing the particle of consecrated bread (or *sanctum*) in the chalice and about the order of communion. All three agree against the source by: (a) using a single verb in place of the compound predicate *sumat . . . et ponat* of the first sentence; (b) using a single verb and compound subject in place of the plural verb *communicent* of the final clause; (c) inserting an adverb of time (*syððan / tunc / þonne*) where the source has none.

³³ Differences between Ælfric's exemplar and *RC* (Ti) and (Fa) best account for the otherwise inexplicable departures in *LME* 69, on which see the commentary at nn. 315–17. See also above, n. 16.

³⁵ These seasonal adaptations are an essential feature of the monastic horarium as established in *RSB*, c. VIII. Because of the difference in latitude, the English obviously experienced even longer winter and shorter summer nights than did the Italian monks for whom Benedict wrote – a practical difficulty Ælfric acknowledges at *LME* 57.

³⁶ For example, the *trina oratio*, the chanting of the gradual psalms before Nocturns, special Offices for the Dead and All Saints, as well as some devotions unique to the *Concordia*, such as the frequent prayers for the royal house. On liturgical accretions to the monastic liturgy between the fifth and tenth centuries, see *RC* (Symons), pp. xlviii–l, and *RC* (Kornexl), pp. lxiii–lxiv.

³⁷ The simplest overview is still provided by Symons's outlines of the horaria (both winter and summer) inferred from the *Concordia*; see *RC* (Symons), pp. xliii–xliv; repr. with minor alterations by Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 714–15 (Table XVIII).

³⁴ *RC* 15: 'A kalendis enim octobris religiosorum morum domini opitulante gratia exordium sumendo omnia, quae usu regulari et sanctorum patrum imitatione spiritualia siue corporalia humili ac necesario [*sic*] agenda sunt officio, cum benedictione inchoentur.'

³⁸ *LME* 2: '[From] the Kalends of October, excluding Sundays and feast days, Prime should be sung at first light, together with the seven psalms and the litanies. Then they [*scil.* the monks] shall retire to their reading until the bell for Terce rings. Then let them put on their day shoes, wash and say their prayers – the children together as a group, the senior monks individually – then sprinkle themselves with holy water. When Terce is over, the first mass shall take place, then Chapter. After the hour of Sext they shall celebrate the mass of the day and, when that is finished, chant None. The holy *Rule* tells of the rest.'

³⁹ The recitation of the psalter from Ps. I begins on Monday at Prime in the Benedictine *cursus*; see *RSB*, c. XVIII.4.

⁴⁰ He says, 'exceptis dominicis et festiuis diebus'. He will return to these provisions soon, at *LME* 5 and 7–10.

⁴¹ *RC* 27: 'Ista uero omnia [*scil.* the preceding detailed provisions for the matutinal mass and Chapter] quae diximus post Tertiam his temporibus [*scil.* the period of the winter horarium] agenda, dominicis diebus omni tempore ante Tertiam agantur . . .'

⁴² For example, the full prayer texts provided for the *trina oratio* collects at *RC* 17.

⁴³ See, e.g., commentary to *LME* 6 (at n. 37).

⁴⁵ *LME* 1: 'hactenus predictus libellus uestrae fraternitati incognitus habetur'.

⁴⁶ On the *Rule*, see mentions at *LME* 1, 2, 57, 62(2x) and 63. For a devotion whose practice is assumed by Ælfric but detailed in the *Concordia*, see *LME* 3 (the *trina oratio*) and commentary.

⁴⁷ This is evident throughout: e.g., *LME* 17 (martyrology), 52 (antiphoner), 51 (sacramentary) and 54 (hymnal). Apparent exceptions, perhaps indicative that Ælfric is introducing new material or updating old, include: (1) his thorough instructions for the order of hymns (*LME* 13, 50 and 54); (2) his provision of antiphons to take the place of 'Alleluia' in the second Nocturn of Vigils through Septuagesima and Lent (*LME* 26); and (3) his provisions for the occurrence of saints' days and Sundays (*LME* 55). See below, pp. 35–6, as well as the commentary to each of these sections.

⁴⁴ New monasteries would usually be staffed by a vanguard of experienced monks transplanted from some major house: thus Abingdon was reformed from Dunstan's Glastonbury, the Old and New Minsters from Æthelwold's Abingdon, Ramsey from Oswald's Westbury-on-Trym, and so on; see Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 49–52 and 721 (Table I).

⁵¹ For example, on his omission of the queen from the specific intentions, see *RC* (Kornexl), p. lxiv, n. 33.

⁵² *RC* 19, 21–2, 24, 33–4 and 37.

⁵³ The *Concordia* quotes in full the three collects (one for the king, one for the queen, one for the king, queen and benefactors). Ælfric does not quote these prayer texts but refers to only one *oratio* (*LME* 4), hinting again that he expects his readers to know them, or at least know where to find them.

⁵⁴ *RC* 19: 'And they shall always do in like manner after each of the regular hours.' After Prime alone do the intentions of the devotion change (*RC* 22: 'pro carnis temptatione' and 'pro defunctis fratribus'); Ælfric includes the same stipulations (*LME* 4). Symons concludes (*RC* (Symons), p. 14, n. 3) that there were no devotions on the king's behalf after Prime, but cf. *RC* (Kornexl), p. lxiv, n. 33.

⁵⁵ *LME* 4: 'Pro rege et pro benefactoribus omnibus horis duo psalmi canendi sunt cum dominica oratione et precibus et oratione.'

⁵⁶ As at *RC* 21, 34 and 37, where the *psalmi familiares* are incorporated into other devotions following these hours and so do not need their own collect.

⁴⁸ Cf. *RC* 16–17 (before Nocturns), 24 (before Terce in winter), 37 (after Compline) and 82 (before Prime in summer). Twice (*RC* 17 and 37) the *Concordia*'s basic instructions are swollen, moreover, with the full texts of the collects to be said at the end of each devotion. That Ælfric feels at liberty to omit these may indicate that a practice novel in the 970s was well established by c. 1005.

⁴⁹ *RC* (Symons), p. 12, n. 7: 'The MSS of the *Concordia* draw no consistent distinction between *familiares* and *benefactores*.'

⁵⁰ See commentary to *LME* 4 (at n. 18).

⁵⁷ On these variations, see commentary to *LME* 5–12. Ælfric's re-arrangement does not prove so effective as in *LME* 2–4, for it seems to interject two or three points out of their logical order (see commentary to *LME* 6). It must also be admitted that *RC* 27–9 presents a more logical, if also wordier, digest of the festal horarium.

⁵⁸ The substance of *LME* 5 is from *RC* 27–8, but Ælfric introduces the passage with words borrowed from the opening of *RC* 26; on this compositional method, see below, pp. 51–8.

⁵⁹ *LME* 7 is from *RC* 27, but with a key phrase borrowed from *RC* 28.

⁶⁰ Sources uncertain, but see commentary to *LME* 9 (at n. 48).

⁶¹ *LME* 13. The *Regularis concordia*, by contrast, specifies only the hymns for Vespers, Compline, Nocturns and Lauds on Sunday, assuming the reader's knowledge of the rest (*RC* 39). See commentary to *LME* 13.

⁶² Corresponding to *RC* 44–54 and 55–80, respectively.

⁶³ See below, pp. 59–68. This supplementary material is usually separated from the customs derived from the *Regularis concordia* by citation-tags: see, e.g., *LME* 30: 'Amalarius: In Quadragesima . . . Consuetudo: In diebus Quadragesime . . .' The distinction is not always observed, however: e.g., at *LME* 22 (Holy Innocents) there is a silent transition from the *Concordia* to Amalarian teaching, and similarly at *LME* 25 (Candlemas); see commentary (at nn. 88 and 103, respectively).

⁶⁴ By their very nature – dramatic and rare – the ceremonies surrounding the high points of the liturgical year attracted a disproportionate share of attention in customaries, *ordines*, sacramentaries, pontificals and *expositiones*. For Anglo-Saxon evidence, see Ælfric's pastoral letters, Briefe I.120–32 and III.23–63; also the anonymous *DEC* (see above, n. 19). A fragmentary mid-eleventh-century Old English translation of the *Concordia*, limited to customs for Palm Sunday through the beginning of Good Friday, is preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, pp. 1–7; see 'Ein weiteres Bruchstück', ed. Zupitza, and Hill, 'The "Regularis Concordia"', pp. 309–11.

⁶⁵ A similar lack of coherence is seen near the end of the *Concordia* itself, which presents a relatively loose collection of miscellaneous points.

⁶⁷ For example, *LME* 58, on the ringing of bells at Nocturns, the mass of the day and Vespers on major feasts (claimed to be a native English custom), is a synthesis and interpretation of *RC* 50 and 18.

⁶⁸ On the possible awkwardness of the proem for Ælfric, see below, pp. 42–51, and commentary to *LME* 63–4.

⁶⁹ Cf. *RC* 98–102.

⁷⁰ The exemption aimed to remove any pretext for abbots and abbesses to hoard their surplus wealth rather than disburse it to the poor. On this portion of the source (*RC* 104), see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii and cviii–cix. The absence of this section from *RC* (Fa) raises the possibility that it was omitted from some copies of the text in circulation and so, perhaps, from Ælfric's exemplar.

⁶⁵ *LME* 50 (Paschaltide) and 54 (summer), only the latter corresponding to *RC* 91.

⁷¹ For summaries of surviving evidence, see Gatch, 'The Office'; Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', pp. 110–31, 136 and 139–41; and A. Corrêa, 'Daily Office Books: Collectars and Breviaries', in *Liturgical Books*, ed. Pfaff, pp. 45–60.

⁷³ That is, Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima Sundays; cf. the spare provisions of *RC* 55–6.

⁷⁴ See the commentary to *LME* 39 (at n. 196).

⁷² Cf. *RC* 39 and 91 (hymns) and 56 (antiphons from Septuagesima). In a few minor points, Ælfric's hymnal is unusual; see esp. commentary to *LME* 13 (at nn. 62–3).

⁷⁵ See Hall, 'Some Liturgical Notes', and present commentary to *LME* 70–7. English copies of the *ordo* are preserved in CCCC 190, pp. 212–13, and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1382, 173r. The latter was collated as manuscript S (misidentified as Rouen 1372) by Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani* II, 481–8.

⁷⁶ Ælfric claims to be addressing a need voiced by the monks themselves: 'Quia rogastis fratres scribi uobis qualiter legere siue cantare per anni circulum in ecclesia debeatis, exponam uobis' (*LME* 70). On the dearth of surviving evidence for Anglo-Saxon Office lectionaries and antiphoners, see Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', pp. 117 and 120.

⁷⁷ See *LME* 1, where Ælfric refers to observances 'quae in scola eius [*scil.* Æthelwoldi] degens multis annis de moribus seu consuetudinibus didici'. In addition to the observance of the *Rule* and, presumably, the customs of the *Regularis concordia*, Æthelwold imposed on his monks a number of additional devotions (see *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. lxxviii–lxxvii), though there is no trace of these in the *LME*.

⁷⁸ *LME* 1: '*haec pauca* de libro consuetudinum . . . scriptitando demonstro' (emphasis added). On Ælfric's methods as an abbreviator, see below, pp. 51–8.

- ⁸¹ *LME* 2: 'Nam de ceteris regula sancta dicit'; cf. *RSB*, cc. VIII–XVIII (outline of the daily and nightly *cursus*).
- ⁸² *LME* 5 (the ferial order 'ab octauis Pentecosten': Prime + matutinal mass + Chapter), 12 (Vigils of the Dead after Vespers) and 57 (the summer interval between Nocturns and Lauds).
- ⁸³ See *RC* (Symons), pp. xxxiii–xxxvi, and references at *RC* 32, 33, 53 and 83 (work), and *RC* 14, 33, 44, 70, 83, 88 and 92 (meals); see also *RSB*, cc. XLVIII and XXXIX–XLI, which Ælfric probably takes for granted. From Easter to 14 September, and on Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons throughout the year, the *Concordia* allows two meals, *prandium* at noon and *cena* after Vespers. From 14 September to the beginning of Lent, the monks take one meal only, between None and Vespers; during Lent itself and on Ember Days, this single meal (again termed *cena*) is postponed until after Vespers. See also D. A. Bullough, 'What Has Ingeld to Do with Lindisfarne?', *ASE* 22 (1993), 93–125, at p. 108.
- ⁸⁴ That is, in the provision (*LME* 60) that the monks have a separate place (*auditorium*) in which to carry on conversation. See *RC* (Symons), p. xxxviii, and *RSB*, cc. VI and XLII.
- ⁷⁹ The *Concordia*'s initial method of plodding through the horarium is, in fairness, primarily a way of describing the order not of the liturgical hours but of the devotions and other activities surrounding them.
- ⁸⁰ *LME* 3 mentions Compline and some attendant ceremonies (prayers and asperges) only in the context of describing the *trina oratio*.
- ⁸⁷ *LME* 43: 'a cross shall be carried down before the altar by cantors as they chant the verses and the rest, so that all may venerate it [*scil.* the cross] in due turn'. Ælfric's wording may also be influenced by Amalarius; see the commentary to *LME* 43 (at n. 220).
- ⁸⁸ See Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', pp. 102–4 (graduals) and 99–102 (sacramentaries).
- ⁸⁹ See *LME* 46 and 51 with commentary (at nn. 228 and 265, respectively), although interesting interpretative or textual cruxes may lurk in both passages; on Ælfric's 'Gregorian' system of readings for the Easter Vigil, see Hall, 'Some Liturgical Notes', pp. 301–3, and Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, pp. 78–87. On the notorious confusion surrounding the Pentecost Vigil in the *Concordia* and most texts derived from it, see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. 353–6.

- ⁸⁵ The *Concordia's* prescriptions for Chapter are similar to those in the *Memoriale qualiter*; see Hallinger's apparatus to RC 26, 86.15–87.24. According to RC 26, Chapter includes a reading from the martyrology, various prayers and responses, a reading from the *Rule* (or, on major feasts, the gospel of the day) and the public confession and correction of faults. The meeting ends (RC 32) with the five extra psalms *pro defunctis fratribus*, also mentioned by Ælfric at LME 6 (though his abridgement may be faulty there; see the commentary).
- ⁸⁶ It is possible, however, that Ælfric's vague *oratio* (LME 4, first sentence), without a specified intention, is part of a larger, deliberate down-playing of the emphasis on the royal house; see below, pp. 43–9.

⁹² See LME 43, trans. above at n. 87.

- ⁹³ Arguably, the rite might be included at the end of the veneration service in the sacramentary (or wherever else the rubrics for that ceremony were found). The *depositio crucis* was never so widespread a custom as the veneration, however, and neither Ælfric's instructions here nor any known to me in his other writings hints that he observed this ceremony. Even at RC 74, moreover, the redactor (probably Æthelwold himself) stresses that the *depositio* is optional.
- ⁹⁴ At RC 79; the origins and contemporary perceptions of this rite are much disputed in modern scholarship. Representative studies include K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933) I, 249; Hardison, *Christian Rite*, pp. 178–219; and, more recently, G. B. Bryan, *Æthelwold and Medieval Music-Drama at Winchester: The Easter Play, its Author, and its Milieu*, European University Studies, Series 30: Theatre, Film and Television 10 (Bern, 1981).
- ⁹⁵ Trans. RC (Symons) 47, p. 46 (= RC 76: 'si tanta fuerit cohors societatis ut sabbati crastini ad hoc non sufficiat dies').
- ⁹⁶ On the difficulty of distinguishing real from apparent departures, Gatch's warning is well taken: 'It is clear on cursory examination that the "Letter" is not merely an abbreviation of the *Concordia*, and it is extremely uncertain which observances of the latter not mentioned in the "Letter" were to be omitted at Eynsham' ('Old English Literature and the Liturgy', p. 241).
- ⁹⁷ LME 1: 'nec audeo omnia uobis intimare, quae in scola eius degens multis annis de moribus seu consuetudinibus didici, ne forte fastidientes districtionem tante obseruantiae nec saltem uelitis auditum prebere narranti'. On Æthelwold's customization of the Office, see above, n. 77; on evidence for his contributions to other parts of the liturgy, see *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. lx–lxxxv.

⁹⁸ The source (*RC* 58) also directs that the subdeacon shall remove his chasuble before reading the epistle, while the deacon, before reading the gospel, shall fold his and wear it over the left shoulder (the style termed *casula duplicata*). These customs were widespread, however, see Hallinger's apparatus to *RC* 58, 104.8–15. If a house such as Eynsham did not have a sufficient number of chasubles, the custom would be impractical. For another possible hint about the availability of liturgical vestments, see commentary to *LME* 66 (at n. 306).

⁹⁹ See commentary to *LME* 8 (at n. 45).

¹⁰⁰ *LME* 29 (cf. *RC* 57) and 69 (cf. *RC* 102), with commentary (at nn. 133 and 315, respectively).

⁹⁶ Cf. *RC* 28: 'signorum <motu> fidelem aduocantes plebem missam inchoent'; see also *RC* 68.

⁹⁷ For example, his remarks on infant baptisms at the Easter Vigil (*LME* 46). The other occasion on which Ælfric implies a lay presence is at the Chrism Mass (see *LME* 39), but the fact that this would never have taken place at Eynsham raises the possibility that other parts of his customary, too, reflect an 'academic' interest in the liturgy more than in the actual customs at Eynsham. On other limitations of the *LME* as evidence, see below, pp. 68–70.

¹⁰¹ Noted by Gatch, 'Old English Literature and the Liturgy', p. 242, and *RC* (Kornexl), p. cliv, n. 26. Ælfric's teaching about repetition of Sunday masses (also at *LME* 80) may also be supererogatory, but the provision is difficult to interpret (see commentary at nn. 369–70). Another stricture not found in the *Concordia* is the fast enjoined on those who read the lesson or carry the paten at mass (*LME* 56; see commentary at n. 282).

¹⁰³ These four aspects are well covered in Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', and Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity'.

- ¹⁰² The differences reflected, in part, their various ties to continental monasticism (Dunstan's to Ghent, Oswald's and (indirectly) Æthelwold's to Fleury). Liturgical differences aside, serious ideological divisions, especially between Dunstan and Æthelwold, have also been suggested; see D. Parsons, 'Introduction', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. Parsons, pp. 1–9, at 3; also *RC* (Kornexl), pp. xxvii–xxviii. According to *RC* 5, monks from Ghent and Fleury advised the Council of Winchester that drew up the *Concordia*. For the traditional analysis, which favoured the influences of Ghent and Lotharingian customs, see Symons, 'Sources', and *idem*, 'Regularis Concordia: History and Derivation', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. Parsons, pp. 37–59; see also *RC* (Symons), pp. xlv–lii, and Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 39 and 721 (Table I). A recently discovered customary by Thierry of Amorbach, reflecting the observances of late tenth-century Fleury, suggests that the influences of that house were stronger than previously believed. See *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores*, ed. Davril and Donnat, in *CCM* 7.3, 7–60. The source-debate is well summarized in *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. lviii–lx, and *RC* (Kornexl), pp. lxxxix–xcv.
- ¹⁰⁴ On Ælfric's self-definition within his own party, see Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 260–5, and Hill, 'Reform and Resistance', pp. 33–8.
- ¹⁰⁵ The political implications of certain aspects of the *LME* were first suggested by Gatch, 'The Office', p. 343.
- ¹⁰⁶ *RC* 10: 'the sovereign power of the King and Queen – and that only . . . both for the safeguarding of the holy places and for the increase of the goods of the Church' (trans. *RC* (Symons) 10, p. 7). The rendering of *saecularium prioratus* as 'lordship of laypersons' – especially in the sense of 'lay abbacies' – is Wormald's ('Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', p. 35). The view of royal *dominium* as an instrument to curtail local aristocratic power is most fully articulated by John, 'The King and the Monks', pp. 162–72, and *idem*, 'The Age of Edgar', in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Campbell, pp. 160–91, at 185; but cf. Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', p. 33.
- ¹¹³ The most violent 'anti-monastic' seizures took place in western Mercia, under Ealdorman Ælfhere; see D. J. V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1952), 254–70; John, 'The Return of the Vikings', pp. 192–3.
- ¹¹⁰ *LME* 63: 'for the protection of the place, *not the exercise of tyranny over it*' (emphasis added).

¹¹¹ Cf. S 911: 'rex autem non ad tirannidem, sed ad munimen loci & augmentum . . . dominium . . . custodiat' (*EC* I, 21). This section, in turn, is repeated almost verbatim in S 792, a grant of lands in Edgar's name to Æthelwold's monastery at Thorney (dated 973, though of doubtful authenticity); see above, p. 14, n. 47. If the phrase *non ad tirannidem* in S 911 does reflect contemporary sentiment in the reign of Æthelred, an intriguing parallel (kindly pointed out to me by Dr Greg Rose) may be found in the reference to *tyrannica contumacia* in the so-called *Orthodoxorum* group of charters. Simon Keynes has argued that this group of five charters (S 658, 673, 786, 788 and 812), though dated to Edgar's reign, are probably forgeries drafted in the 990s, so that their pointed reference to 'tyranny' may recall the depredations suffered by the monasteries in the reign of Edward the Martyr (*Diplomas*, pp. 98–100). By contrast, a reference to 'tyranny' in c. XIV of the unquestionably authentic New Minster privilege (S 745), probably written by Æthelwold himself, is significantly distanced from King Edgar ('Reges . . . quicumque nostri fuerint successores nullam extraneam personam ius tirannidis super monachos exercentem imponant'; see *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, pp. 119–33, at 128).

¹¹² See B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke, pp. 65–88, at 84–6; Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, pp. 57–9; and *RC* (Kornexl), p. liv.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *RC* 19 and 37. Ælfric's may simply be an imprecise formulation of the same usage dictated by the source.

¹⁰⁸ *LME* 10: 'Nam ferialibus diebus de quacumque necessitate euenerit facienda est.'

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *RC* 10 and 13 (+ 95), and see commentary to *LME* 63–4 (at nn. 297–300). Other practical directions from the proem are left out of the *LME*, most notably *RC* 9 (on the election of abbots, in which the king shall have right of consent), 11 (rules for monks on journeys) and 12 (behaviour towards the *pueri* of the monastery). The possibility that Ælfric's exemplar of the *Concordia* preserved a deeply corrupt version of the proem, as in the extant *RC* (Fa), should also be acknowledged.

- ¹¹⁷ *Ælfric: Lives of Three English Saints*, ed. G. I. Needham (London, 1966), p. 80, lines 369–74: ‘se tima wæs gesælig and wynsum on Angelcynne, þa ða Eadgar cynincg þone cristendom gefyrðrode and fela munuclifa arærde, and his cynerice wæs wunigende on sibbe, swa þæt man ne gehyrde gif ænig scyphere wære, buton agenre leode þe ðis land heoldon’ (‘the time was blessed and joyful among the English people when King Edgar advanced Christendom and established many monasteries; and his kingdom remained at peace, so that no one heard if there were any naval force, save that of the people who possessed this land’ (trans. mine)); see also *ibid.*, p. 81, lines 381–6. Likewise in the epilogue to Ælfric’s paraphrase of the book of Judges, praise of victorious kings includes Alfred, Æthelstan and, most fulsomely, Edgar, but then falls conspicuously silent; see *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric’s Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 160 (London, 1922; repr. with a supplement by N. R. Ker, 1969), 416. On Ælfric’s changing views of the Viking incursions, see M. R. Godden, ‘Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, ed. Godden *et al.*, pp. 130–62.
- ¹¹⁴ The usual date for his birth is given as c. 955, but cf. *Ælfric’s Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox, p. 7, ‘by 940 or 945’.
- ¹¹⁵ On the telling later developments in monastic ‘ruler theology’, see John, ‘The Return of the Vikings’, pp. 203 and 206, and *idem*, ‘The World of Abbot Ælfric’, in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 300–16, at 313. On comparable developments, along rather different lines, in the writings of Wulfstan, see D. Bethurum Loomis, ‘*Regnum* and *sacerdotium* in the Early Eleventh Century’, in *England Before the Conquest*, ed. Clemoes and Hughes, pp. 129–45.
- ¹¹⁶ On the period of Æthelred’s ‘youthful indiscretions’, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 176–82, and P. A. Stafford, ‘The Reign of Æthelred II, a Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action’, in *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill, BAR British Series 59 (Oxford, 1978), 15–46, at p. 27. The years of ‘youthful indiscretion’ aside, monasticism generally flourished and produced some of its most lasting monuments in Æthelred’s reign (see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 198–200), but the king was seldom credited for these successes. It was, ironically, the Danish conqueror, Cnut, who would come nearer to attaining the status of a ‘second Edgar’; see Gransden, ‘Traditionalism and Continuity’, p. 84, and M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 117–60.
- ¹¹⁸ *LS xiii (De oratione Moysi)*, ed. Skeat I, 294, lines 147–55 (quoted with modern punctuation, ignoring Skeat’s verse-line division): ‘Well may we think how well it fared with us when this island was dwelling in peace, and the monastic orders were held in honour, and the laity were ready against their foes, so that our report spread widely throughout the earth. How was it then afterward when men rejected monastic life and held God’s services in contempt, but that pestilence and hunger came to us, and afterward the heathen army had us in reproach?’ (trans. Skeat).

- ¹¹⁹ Cf. the depiction of an Edgarian golden age in the anonymous Old English 'rhythmical prose' translation of Edgar's privilege to the monks of Ely. J. C. Pope, following a suggestion by A. McIntosh, has made a strong case for Ælfric's authorship of the translation; see Pope's 'Ælfric and the Old English Version of the Ely Privilege', in *England Before the Conquest*, ed. Clemoes and Hughes, pp. 85–113, at 103–4.

¹²³ See above, pp. 12–15.

- ¹²⁵ *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope II, 728–32 (no. xxii). See also Ælfric's discussion of the term *subregulus* in the late Temporale homily for the twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost in *Old English Homilies*, ed. Irvine, pp. 19–25, at 20–1, lines 36–60, and pp. 11–15 (introduction).

- ¹²⁶ *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope II, 726–7 and additional note on 733. The fragment is also discussed by Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 206–8, Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, p. 13, and in *Old English Homilies*, ed. Irvine, pp. 11–13.

- ¹²⁰ On the continuing importance and complexity of lay patronage, see Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', pp. 35–7, and Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, pp. 188–94.

¹²¹ Barrow, 'Community of Worcester', p. 95.

- ¹²² '[Æthelmær] abbatem sanctę monachorum congregationi preferre se uiuente instituit' (*EC* I, 20); see above, pp. 6–11.

¹²⁸ Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', p. 32.

- ¹²⁹ Robinson, *Times of Saint Dunstan*, p. 156, and Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 66–7, both doubt the legislative impact of the document and consider Ælfric's free treatment of it further evidence that the *Concordia* represented only an 'ideal for houses which aimed at highest observance' (Robinson, p. 156); but cf. *RC* (Kornexl), pp. cliv and li–lvi. If the Council of Winchester occurred as late as 973, dissemination of the text could barely have gotten underway before Edgar's death (975) and its aftermath, the effects of which on the spread of the *Concordia* are likewise much disputed; see *RC* (Kornexl), pp. liv–lv, and Hill, 'The "Regularis Concordia"'.

¹³⁰ RC 6 (but quoted here from RC (Kornexl) 6, lines 77–86): ‘Ne igitur singuli, si suam . . . adinuationem suapte presumptuosi eligerent, excellentissimum sancte obedientię fructum, alicuius arrogantię fastu inopinatē seducti, miserabiliter amitterent ac Sarabiteꝝ potius quam monachi aut homines uiderentur legitimi, uotum Domino nostro Ihesu Christo unanimes <u>ouerunt pactoque spirituali confirmauerunt: se uita comite iugo regulę deditos has adnotatas morum consuetudines communi palam custodire conuersatione.’

¹³¹ RC 8: ‘Si autem pro qualibet necessitate quid extra communem regularis consuetudinis usum addendum fuerit, tamdiu agatur quoadusque negotium pro quo agatur Christi opitulante gratia melioretur’; and slightly later, ‘. . . nisi concilio synodali electum traditumque cum discretione uirtutum omnium matre ab uniuersis fuerit catholicis’.

¹²⁷ Thus RC 4: [Edgar] monuit, ut concordēs aequali consuetudinis usu . . . nullo modo dissentiendo discordarent, ne impar ac uariis unius regulę ac unius patrię usus probrose uituperium sanctę conuersationi irrogaret.’

¹²⁴ M. Godden, ‘Ælfric’s Saints’ Lives and the Problem of Miracles’, in *Sources and Relations*, ed. Collins et al., pp. 83–100, at 95–7; M. Clayton, ‘Of Mice and Men: Ælfric’s Second Homily for the Feast of a Confessor’, *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 24 (1993), 1–26, at pp. 19–23.

¹³² On the importance of native traditions even in periods of greatest continental influence, see Gransden, ‘Traditionalism and Continuity’.

¹³⁴ On Ælfric’s Latin canon, see *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. cxlvii–cl; Clemons, ‘Chronology’, pp. 244–5; and Jones, ‘*Meatim sed et rustica*’.

¹³⁵ Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, p. 131, discussing the set of excerpts compiled by Ælfric from Julian of Toledo’s *Prognosticon futuri saeculi*. Cf. Ælfric’s abbreviation of another Latin source to produce his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, discussed at length in *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. cli–cliii, and in the notes to their edition of Ælfric’s text, pp. 71–80 (Appendix A).

¹³⁶ For another possible interpretation, see Jones, ‘*Meatim sed et rustica*’.

¹³³ Thus M. Lapidge, ‘The Hermeneutic Style in Anglo-Latin Literature’, *ASE* 4 (1975), 67–111, at p. 101 (repr. with addenda in his *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 105–49 and 474–9, at 139): ‘It is not simply that Ælfric did not affect the hermeneutic style; he

reacted vigorously against it. Thus in the Latin preface to his *Catholic Homilies* he explains that he has written in English rather than Latin so that his meaning will penetrate more directly to the hearts of his readers or listeners: "ideoque nec obscura posuimus verba, sed simplicem Anglicam". His reference to *obscura uerba* is clearly a rejection of the contemporary stylistic fashion.' See also *idem*, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 183–94 and 200–1, and *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. xcvi. Even Ælfric's lay patron, Ealdorman Æthelweard, adopted this style for his Latin translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; see *Chronicon Æthelweardi*, ed. Campbell, pp. xlv–lv, and M. Winterbottom, 'The Style of Æthelweard', *Medium Ævum* 36 (1967), 109–18.

¹³⁸ On Ælfric's 'rhythmical prose', see *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope I, 105–36. On the 'poetic' element in his vocabulary, see M. Godden, 'Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary', *English Studies* 61 (1980), 206–23, at pp. 217–19, and R. Frank, 'Poetic Words in Late Old English Prose', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, ed. Godden *et al.*, pp. 87–107, at 91, 96–8, 104–5 and 106, n. 31.

¹³⁹ In the *LME*, sentences that are, by Ælfric's standards, long and syntactically complex occur in §§ 1 and 80. He rarely admits the exotic word (e.g., *LME* 46 'thimiamā'). The *Colloquy* includes 'mathites' (emend. of manuscript *machites*) (ed. Garmonsway, p. 48, line 308), while the *Glossary* sometimes appended to the *Grammar* is full of unusual words, but in these works the difficulty of distinguishing Ælfric's original from the additions of his pupil, Ælfric Bata, complicates the evidence; see D. Porter, 'Ælfric's *Colloquy* and Ælfric Bata', *Neophilologus* 80 (1996), 639–60.

¹³⁷ For Æthelwold's vernacular compositions, see *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, ed. A. Schröer, BaP 2 (Kassel, 1885–8; repr. with a supplement by H. Gneuss: Darmstadt, 1964), and the prose tract on 'King Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries', in *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, pp. 142–54. Essential studies, all by M. Gretsch, are *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti*, summarized in English as 'Æthelwold's Translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and its Latin Exemplar', *ASE* 3 (1974), 125–51; and 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Korhammer, K. Reichl and H. Sauer (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 131–58. For Æthelwold's Latin works, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 189–95, and *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. lxxvi–xc.

¹⁴² The only material drawn from the proem (for *LME* 63–4) has been completely rewritten; see above, pp. 44–5. The 'epilogue' in *RC* (Ti), on the payment of the heriot, is also written in the hermeneutic style and has no correlate in the *LME*. There is a good possibility that this section was not in Ælfric's exemplar of the source, the ending of which also diverged from *RC* (Ti) and (Fa) in other respects; cf. above, nn. 70 and 33.

- ¹⁴³ RC 26, but here quoted from RC (Kornexl) 21, lines 389–91: 'After the Morrow Mass, at a sign from the prior, all shall come together for the Chapter, the prior leading. Turning to the east they shall salute the Cross' (trans. RC (Symons) 21, p. 17).
- ¹⁴⁴ RC 83: 'During the entire summer, Sundays and feast days excepted, when Prime has been sung, the Morrow Mass celebrated and the Chapter carried out, the *tabula* shall be struck' (trans. RC (Symons) 55, p. 54).
- ¹⁴⁰ The most complete study of the Latinity of the *Concordia* is RC (Kornexl), pp. clxx–clxxxiii; see also her 'The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss', pp. 115–16; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 98–100; and *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. lxxxviii.
- ¹⁴¹ Kornexl has also shown that isolated hermeneutic passages in the body of the *Concordia* are probably the asides of Æthelwold himself. See RC (Kornexl), pp. clxxv–clxxvii and xlv–l, and 'The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss', p. 116, referring to examples in RC 15, 45, 61, 74 and 95.
- ¹⁴⁶ On Ælfric's Latin *brenitas*, see *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. cl–clii and cix.
- ¹⁴⁷ The popular labelling of the *LME* as a mere abridgement or digest implies that Ælfric was motivated as much by the often obscure language of the *Concordia* as by the complexity of its observances. This assumption dates back at least to Bateson, who observed, 'Ælfric did his best to interpret Æthelwold [*scil.* the *Concordia*] whose language revels in obscurity' ('Rules for Monks', p. 703).
- ¹⁴⁵ Substantial instances of quotation that have undergone no or only minor revision occur in: *LME* 17–22, 29, 30 (slightly re-arranged), 32–4, 36, 40, 45–6, 49, 52, 65–6 and 68–9. This list would swell considerably if it were to include the many less extensive verbal echoes.
- ¹⁴⁹ 'During the winter period the brothers shall be granted access to a fire, should necessity require it . . . And should the severe cold persist, let them all read and chant together in the *domus*. But should the weather be mild, let them all sit together in the cloister.'
- ¹⁴⁸ 'From the Calends of November aforesaid the brethren shall be allowed to have a fire as long as necessity demands and excess of cold lasts . . . Thus in winter, when storms are harsh and bitter, a suitable room shall be set aside for the brethren wherein, by the fireside, they may take refuge from the cold and bad weather. When, however, the weather is fair, they shall be free to use the cloister with Christ's blessing' (trans. RC (Symons) 29, pp. 25–6).

- ¹⁵⁰ The CCM edition adopts the reading *caumene* of RC (Ti) (glossed by OE *fyrhyses*) over the obviously corrupt *cacumenae* of (Fa), but the underlying form was probably *cecaumenes* (Greek genitive singular); see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', p. 100, n. 75, and RC (Kornexl), pp. 248–9 (commentary to line 634).
- ¹⁵¹ Other good examples occur in LME 12 (cf. RC 21), LME 25 and 32 (cf. RC 54 and 60) and LME 61 (cf. RC 93).
- ¹⁵² For examples see also LME 18 (third and fourth sentences; cf. RC 46) and 32 (first sentence; cf. RC 60).
- ¹⁵⁴ 'And when the antiphon, together with its collect, has been sung in honour of the saint to whom that church is dedicated which is the destination of the procession, the abbot, vested in a stole and cope, shall bless the candles . . .'
- ¹⁵³ 'On entering the church, having prayed awhile, they shall say the antiphon and collect in honour of the saint to whom this same church is dedicated. Then the abbot, vested in stole and cope, shall bless the candles . . .' (trans. RC (Symons) 33, p. 31).
- ¹⁵⁵ The word order introduced into the revised version bears a slight resemblance to the 'verb second' principle in Old English; see Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, § 3929, and J. McLaughlin, *Old English Syntax: a Handbook*, Sprachstrukturen, Reihe A: Historische Sprachstrukturen 4 (Tübingen, 1983), § 9.3. On 'inverted order' in Ælfric's Old English writings, see C. R. Barrett, 'Studies in the Word-Order of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies and Lives of the Saints', *Department of Anglo-Saxon, Occasional Papers* 3 (Cambridge, 1953), 1–3 and 7–37. (Of course in Latin a 'verb second' tendency would not necessarily imply 'inversion', since Latin relies on implied subjects more often than English does.) At least once (LME 65: 'eant'; cf. RC 98) the verb has moved to initial position after a simple co-ordinating conjunction *et*, for which, again, there exists an analogous tendency in Old English; see Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, § 3934.
- ¹⁵⁶ For finite verbs from participles or participial phrases, see LME 25 *induant* . . . *eant*, 29 *incipiant*, 32 *intrent*, 46 *detur* and 48 *reuerientur* (cf. RC 54, 57, 60, 77 and 80); from ablative absolutes, see LME 35 *lauent*, 37 *deportetur*, 47 *dicat* and 69 *pulsetur* (cf. RC 65, 67, 79 and 102); from gerunds, see LME 42 *propinet* (cf. RC 67).
- ¹⁵⁷ For changes of voice only, see LME 38 *dat*, 42 *legat*, 47 *inchoet* and 48 *eant* (cf. RC 68, 71, 79 and 80); for change of voice accompanied by substitution of a different verb, see LME 16 *nec* . . . *mittant pinguedinem* (RC 44 *pinguedo interdicitur*), 18 *canant* (RC 46 *celebrentur*), 24 *decantent* (RC 52 *dicantur*), 29 *debent inchoare* (RC 57 *dicatur prima*), 32 *procedant* . . . *ad* . . . *processionem* (RC 60 *agitur* . . . *processio*) and 51 *uesperam* . . . *psallimus* (RC 88 *Vesperae* . . . *celebrantur*).

¹⁵⁸ On the use of co-ordinated finite verbs in Old English to translate Latin appositive participles, see M. Callaway, Jr, 'The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon', *PMLA* 16 (1901), 141–360, at p. 321. On the tendency of Old English translations to substitute active for passive constructions, see M. Kilpiö, *Passive Constructions in Old English Translations from Latin, with Special Reference to the OE Bede and the Pastoral Care*, *Mémoires de la Société Neophilologique de Helsinki* 49 (Helsinki, 1989), 203–29 and 234–43. Other possible vernacular influences are mentioned above, n. 155.

¹⁵⁹ *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. cliii.

¹⁶⁰ See below, pp. 68–70.

¹⁶¹ For example, see commentary to *LME* 3 (at n. 17), 6 (at n. 37) and 12 (at n. 55).

¹⁶² Ed. by Hanssens in *AEOLO* II, with prolegomena and indices in vols. I and III, respectively. My references employ Hanssens's book, chapter and section numbers.

¹⁶³ On the importance of Carolingian authorities and their different uses by the reformers, see Hill, 'Reform and Resistance', pp. 20 and 36.

¹⁶⁴ For the broader context of Amalarius's work, see A. Wilmart, 'Expositio Missæ', *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53) V, cols. 1014–27; R. E. Reynolds, 'Liturgy, Treatises on', *DMA* VII, 624–33; and D. L. Mosey, 'Allegorical Liturgical Interpretation in the West from 800 A.D. to 1200 A.D.' (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of St Michael's College, Toronto, 1985).

¹⁶⁵ This sketch of Amalarius's life is based on *AEOLO* I, 58–82, as well as Hanssens, 'Le texte', and Cabaniss, *Amalarius*.

¹⁶⁶ Though where is not known; Hanssens (*AEOLO* I, 62–3) inclines towards the Palace School, under Alcuin's direction from 792–6, while Cabaniss (*Amalarius*, pp. 12–21) assumes that all such references are to St Martin's, Tours, whither Alcuin retired as abbot until his death in 804. Nowhere in his writings does Amalarius claim to have lived anywhere as a professed monk, although arguments have been advanced that he held the office of commendatory abbot of Hornbach (Cabaniss, *Amalarius*, p. 24; *AEOLO* I, 71).

¹⁶⁷ The first edition was probably published in the early 820s (Hanssens's date; see *AEOLO* I, 134). Cabaniss (*Amalarius*, p. 52, n. 1) argues for a slightly earlier date.

- ¹⁶⁸ Namely, the *Missae expositionis codices I & II* and *Canonis missae interpretatio* (c. 815); Hanssens attributes these to Amalarius, though their authenticity has been doubted.
- ¹⁶⁹ Again, the precise date is disputed: Hanssens argues for 830 or 831 (*AEOLO* I, 135 and 68), while Cabaniss posits an earlier date of 826 or 827 (*Amalarius*, p. 71). In any event, the *terminus ante quem* would appear to be 831.
- ¹⁷⁰ The controversy may have had political roots. The previous archbishop of Lyons, Agobard, had been deposed for his support of a failed rebellion led by Louis's son, Lothar, in 833. The clergy of Lyons, who remained devoted to the exiled Agobard, would probably have resented anyone whom Louis chose to oversee the archdiocese, but they found an easy target in the academically inclined Amalarius and his eccentric scholarship. After three years of bitter complaint, voiced most stridently by the deacon Florus, the anti-Amalarian party finally obtained from a synod at Quierzy (September 838) a condemnation of the *Liber officialis*. Florus's own account of the synod is quoted at length in *AEOLO* I, 77–9.
- ¹⁷¹ See *AEOLO* I, 83–91, and for a specific case study, R. W. Pfaff, 'The "Abbreviatio Amalarii" of William of Malmesbury', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 47 (1980), 77–113, and 48 (1981), 128–71 (edition).
- ¹⁷² Only four manuscripts of the complete third edition survive, compared to sixteen of the first edition and ten of the second. For inventories, see *AEOLO* I, 120–4, and Hanssens, 'Le texte'.
- ¹⁷⁸ Further evidence of the *R1*-tradition includes excerpts preserved as the *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis* in two manuscripts of Archbishop Wulfstan's 'common-place book', where it is found alongside the excerpts from the *Concordia* titled *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* (see above, n. 19). Other excerpts from the *Liber officialis*, also probably derived from an *R1* copy, occur on fols. 102–21 of London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. xv ('Worcester, c. 1000; see Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 136), a portion of which (on the significance of church bells) was elsewhere translated into Old English; see T. Graham, 'The Old English Prefatory Texts in the Corpus Canterbury Pontifical', *Anglia* 113 (1995), 1–15. Additional Amalarian excerpts preserved in the later part (s. xi/xii) of the *LME* manuscript itself (CCCC 265), however, must have been drawn from the whole *Liber officialis*, not the abridgement; see below, p. 74, n. 13.
- ¹⁷³ See *LME* 24, 26, 30–2, 35 and 43. The tag can likewise introduce material of doubtful authenticity that was nevertheless in Ælfric's exemplar of the *Liber officialis*, as at *LME* 37.

- ¹⁷⁵ Edward the Elder (899–924) received these refugees into his protection, and his successor, Athelstan (924–39), actively promoted the re-establishment of the Breton dynasty in the 930s; see Dumville, 'The English Element', p. 12.
- ¹⁷⁶ For example, in the establishment of the cult of St Judoc at the New Minster, Winchester, or in the large number of Breton relics that found their way into Athelstan's eager hands; see Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 110 and 112–16, and Ortenberg, *The English Church*, pp. 231–2. For a possible reference to Breton liturgical influence in the Old English poem *The Seasons for Fasting*, see Sisam, *Studies*, p. 55.
- ¹⁷⁷ Quotation from Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 116, referring to the execution of Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2, an early example of 'phase II' Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule; see *idem*, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases', *ASE* 23 (1994), 133–64, at pp. 136–42. The Anglo-Breton subgroup of *R1* manuscripts includes (by Hanssens's sigla): Q = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1983 (Brittany, c. 900); B = Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 82 (England, c. 930); T = Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2 [241] (St Augustine's, Canterbury, c. 930), and F = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 192 (Landevennec, Brittany, 952). The Breton manuscript CCCC 192 was probably copied from an English exemplar, as argued by Dumville, 'The English Element', pp. 6–7. Dumville has refined Hanssens's stemma (*AEOLO* 1, 198), suggesting a more precise filiation: both English manuscripts and the later of the two Breton ones (F) ultimately derive from a hyparchetype collateral with Q, though whether that hyparchetype (now lost) was an English or Breton copy cannot be known; see D. N. Dumville, 'Breton and English Manuscripts of Amalarius's *Liber officialis*', in *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, ed. D. Conso, N. Fick and B. Poulle (Paris, 1994), pp. 205–14.

¹⁸⁰ See commentary to *LME* 37 (at n. 191).

- ¹⁸¹ See commentary to *LME* 33 (at n. 176), 35 (at n. 188), 39 (at nn. 197–204) and 44 (at n. 222).
- ¹⁷⁹ See Gatch, 'The Office', p. 349. The order of items in manuscripts of the *R1* (especially its second book) often does not follow that of the third edition itself; for a detailed overview of this redaction, see *AEOLO* I, 163–8. Hanssens prints the post-Amalarian interpolations from *R1* at *AEOLO* II, 560–5. Several passages in the *LME* evidence significant *R1* variants; see full quotations and commentary at *LME* 25 (at n. 103), 27 (at n. 117), 28 (at n. 120), 30 (at n. 142), 32 (at n. 169) and 43 (at n. 212). Furthermore *LME* 26 shows by its ordering of ideas the influence of the prior abridgement and omission of material carried out for the *R1* (see commentary at n. 105).

- ¹⁸² The peculiarities were first noted by N. R. Ker, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 23–49, at 46–7; repr. in Ker's *Books, Collectors and Libraries*, ed. Watson, pp. 143–73, at 170–1. The manuscript is also noticed by Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 70–1 and 152–3.
- ¹⁸³ Salisbury books copied from pre-Conquest English exemplars are far outnumbered by those that reflect newly imported continental traditions, but see Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 68–75. Salisbury 154 is a good example of the transition from native to imported exemplars: to the core text (the *Retractatio prima*, long known to the Anglo-Saxons), contemporary scribes have added parts of the complete *Liber officialis* not known to have been in England before the later eleventh century (*ibid.*, p. 71, n. 112).
- ¹⁸⁶ Thus Gatch: 'beginning with the Carolingian scholars whose work came to its fruition in the monastic-liturgical movement of the tenth century, the most original applications of the theory of multiple meanings were applications to the words and actions of the liturgy . . . Explication, like other theological disciplines and the arts, became a handmaid of the liturgy' (*Preaching and Theology*, p. 11). The essential similarity of biblical and liturgical exposition is underscored by Ælfric's reminiscences in the *LME* of his earlier, homiletic treatments of the scriptural passages pertinent to the liturgical occasion; see, e.g., commentary to *LME* 25 (at n. 103). On the kinship of biblical and liturgical exegesis, see T. M. Thibodeau, 'Enigmata Figurarum: Biblical Exegesis and Liturgical Exposition in Durand's *Rationale*', *Harvard Theological Review* 86 (1993), 65–79.
- ¹⁸⁴ From the First Series, see portions of *CH* I.xviii (*In letania maiore*) and I.xxii (Pentecost), ed. Thorpe I, 244 and 326, borrowing from *Lib.off* I.xxxvii.3–4 and I.xxxix.1, respectively (both passages are included in *R1*). For the Second Series, see *CH* II.v, ed. Godden, pp. 41–51, at lines 234–87. The Amalarian source of these three passages was noted long ago by Forster, 'Über die Quellen', pp. 48–9. Other alleged identifications of the *Liber officialis* among the *Catholic Homilies* are less convincing; see B. Fehr, 'Über einige Quellen zu Aelfrics Homiliae Catholicae', *Archiv* 130 (1913), 378–80. Because Ælfric demonstrates a familiarity with the *Liber officialis* from the earliest stage in his career, it is plausible to count Amalarius's text among the books he studied as a monk at Winchester.
- ¹⁸⁵ *CH* II.v, ed. Godden, p. 49, lines 237–8: '[There was] a certain wise teacher named Amalarius, who wrote a book concerning ecclesiastical customs, [that is,] what the regulations of God's services betoken through the course of the year.' The homily proceeds with a selection and adaption of material almost identical to that used in *LME* 26 (see commentary at nn. 104–8). The identification of the homiletic source was given by Förster, 'Über die Quellen', pp. 48–9.

¹⁹⁰ See commentary to *LME* 24 (at n. 93) and 30 (at n. 141); see also *LME* 33 (at n. 171) and 43 (at n. 219), where the 'restorations' appear already to have been carried out in his peculiar version of *RI*.

¹⁹¹ See commentary to *LME* 25 (at n. 103) and 32 (at n. 169). On 'reminiscence' in Ælfric's homilies, see Cross, 'Ælfric – Mainly on Memory', and *idem*, 'The Literate Anglo-Saxon', pp. 85–8 and 92.

¹⁸⁷ See, e.g., *LME* 27 (Sexagesima) and 28 (Quinquagesima).

¹⁸⁸ On Ælfric's treatment of sources generally, see Clemoes, 'Ælfric', and Pope's remarks in *Supplementary Collection* I, 150–63. The Amalarian passages in the *LME* also show a close reliance on the wording of sources, which is characteristic of Ælfric's rewriting of Latin texts; see above, pp. 51–8.

¹⁸⁹ Amalarius was probably not a monk, and the form of the liturgy presupposed in his works is secular, not monastic. See discussion in the commentary to *LME* 24 (at n. 94); but cf. below, p. 70 and n. 199.

¹⁹² On a similar discourse 'shift' in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, see M. R. Godden, 'Experiments in Genre: the Saints' Lives in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 261–87. In his first preface to the *Liber officialis*, Amalarius had virtually claimed for his insights the authority of a private revelation: 'uidebatur mihi, quasi in crypta posito, fenestratim lucis scintillas radiare ad nostram paruitatem de re [*scil.* the rationale of the liturgy] quam desiderabam. Longa esurie audius, non frenum passus sum alicuius magistri, sed ilico . . . scripsi quod sensi' ('Gloriosissime imperator', 1–2). In the body of the work, however, a (pseudo-) historical mode predominates.

¹⁹³ See commentary to *LME* 22 (at n. 88), 24 (at n. 93), 25 (at n. 103), 26 (at n. 106), 32 (at n. 168), 33 (at n. 171), 39 (at n. 204) and 43 (at n. 219).

¹⁹⁵ By this possibility the *LME* would resemble the pastoral letters, of which at least four were supposedly written near the year 1005 and which, though addressed to specific persons, were also evidently intended for a wider audience; see Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church'. The fact that the *LME* survives only in a Worcester copy of Archbishop Wulfstan's 'commonplace book' indicates that Ælfric's customary was known outside Eynsham at a relatively early date, though the manuscript context allows varying interpretations; see below, ch. 3.

¹⁹⁴ See the examples discussed in the commentary to *LME* 12 (at n. 53), 25 (at n. 98) and 68 (at n. 313).

¹⁹⁶ Instances of structural confusion attributable to the method have already been noted; see above, n. 161.

¹⁹⁷ See commentary to *LME* 27 (at n. 118) and 71 (at n. 338), respectively.

¹⁹⁸ See commentary to *LME* 75 (at n. 355).

¹⁹⁹ The interpretation is difficult; see commentary to *LME* 71 (at n. 337), 76 (at n. 358) and 77 (at n. 363). By contrast, cf. commentary to *LME* 24 (at n. 94) for a very expert adaptation of secular to monastic contexts. On the substitution of the secular for the monastic Office, see commentary to *LME* 34 (at n. 181), 46 (at n. 238) and 47 (at nn. 243–4).

¹ The foundational treatment is by Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book', which formed the basis of the entry in James's *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 14–21. For other significant notices, see *Les Ordines romani*, ed. Andrieu I, 99–101; *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, pp. xiv and cxxviii; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 92–4 (item 53); R. A. Aronstam, 'The Latin Canonical Tradition in Late Anglo-Saxon England: the *Excerptiones Egberti*' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1974), pp. 20–2, *Theodulfi Capitula*, ed. Sauer, pp. 45–50; Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 137–8. Most useful and accurate of recent publications is Sauer, 'Zur Überlieferung'.

² For an updated inventory and discussion of the whole manuscript, see Jones, 'Ælfric's *Letter*', pp. 42–98.

⁴ *Theodulfi Capitula*, ed. Sauer, p. 46.

⁵ James, *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 16; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 94.

³ The leaves of quires 24–7 are slightly smaller, as James noted (*Descriptive Catalogue* II, 16). The manuscript's pagination is faulty; after page 115 the enumerator skipped a folio, and resumed his numbering on the recto of the following folio (117, etc.). A similar mishap occurred in the later part of the manuscript, where the pagination omits numbers 331–40. To avoid unnecessary confusion, however, I continue to use the manuscript's faulty pagination. A revised codicological description of the whole codex is forthcoming in M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Kalamazoo). I am grateful to Dr Budny for allowing me to read her entry on CCCC 265 in typescript.

- ⁸ In addition to works by Bateson and Sauer cited above, n. 1, see Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book'. On Wulfstan's career, see *Sermo Lupi*, ed. Whitelock, pp. 7–17, along with her 'Archbishop Wulfstan' and 'Wulfstan at York'. See also the introduction to *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Bethurum, pp. 54–87.
- ⁹ The complexities are well demonstrated by stemmata in Sauer, 'Zur Überlieferung'.
- ¹⁰ There are obvious exceptions, such as the law code *IV Edgar* (pp. 216–27) or the extensive liturgical matter included among canon law excerpts in, among others, Ælfric's second Latin pastoral letter to Wulfstan (pp. 174–80).
- ¹¹ The difficulties of identifying discrete text-groups within this material are enormous. For editions and cross-references to other members of the 'commonplace book' family, see Jones, 'Ælfric's Letter', pp. 44–59. P. Wormald has argued forcibly that the canon law excerpts, including the so-called *Excerptiones Ecgberti*, actually reveal a methodical effort by someone, probably Wulfstan himself, to compile a comprehensive canon law collection from texts available at early eleventh-century Worcester Cathedral Priory. I am grateful to Mr Wormald for providing me with a typescript of a paper on this topic delivered at the 1996 Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo.
- ⁶ *Theodulfi Capitula*, ed. Sauer, p. 46: Part A contains 134 leaves in seventeen quires, collation: 1–14⁸ + 15⁶ + 16–17⁸, with two singletons each in gatherings 3 and 12–14.
- ⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 92, 's. xi med.'; see also *idem*, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed., Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3 (London, 1964), 206; H. Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *ASE* 9 (1981), 1–60, at p. 9 (item 73); and McIntyre, 'Early-Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory', pp. 202–9 and 211–15 (Appendix A.i–ii). Gameson ('Book Production', p. 238) separates and dates the constituent parts differently: pp. 1–208 's. xi med' and pp. 209–68 's. xi²'. On the Worcester 'house style' of Latin script, see Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 20, n. 1. In addition to the resemblance of certain hands in CCC 265 to this 'house style', other evidence supporting a Worcester origin includes: (1) the profession of chastity, added to p. 1 during s. xi² and including the phrase 'domno presule uulstano [i.e., St Wulfstan II, bishop of Worcester 1062–95] presente'; (2) Old English additions to pp. 41, 74, 77 and 78 in the hand of Coleman, St Wulfstan's chancellor, deputy preacher and eventual biographer (see references below, at n. 75).
- ¹² Unlike many formulas, this text contains additions referring to a particular offence that merited excommunication; see Sauer, 'Die Exkommunikationsriten'.

- ¹³ *Lib. off.* II.xvii–xviii, xxv, xxii, xx–xxi, xix, xxiii–xxiv and xxvi; III.v–xxii, xxvii, xxxii and xxxiv–xxxv. Because some of this material could not have been found in the *Retractatio prima* (see above, pp. 62–5), these excerpts indicate the arrival of the full text of the *Liber officialis* in England some time in the second half of the eleventh century.
- ¹⁴ This important tenth-century liturgical compilation does not appear to have reached England before the mid-eleventh century; see M. Lapidge, 'The Origin of CCCC 163', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1981), 18–28; *idem*, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E. XII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 55 (1983), 11–25; repr. with addenda in his *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 453–67 and 492.
- ¹⁷ James, *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 16–17; *Theodulfi Capitula*, ed. Sauer, pp. 46–7. According to Ker this scribe also wrote the Anglo-Saxon minuscule on pp. 72–83 (the Old English 'confessor's handbook' = Ker's *Catalogue*, p. 94, item 53, articles a.i–viii). Part of a letter from Gregory I to Maximianus, written on the originally blank p. 199, appears to be the work of another hand. There are also a number of glosses and marginal additions, some extensive, in several contemporary hands.
- ¹⁸ James, *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 17; *Theodulfi Capitula*, ed. Sauer, p. 46.
- ¹⁹ The term 'Style IV' was coined by Dumville as an elaboration of earlier categories devised by Bishop in his *English Caroline Minuscule*. See Dumville's *English Caroline Script*, pp. 111–40.
- ²⁰ The identification of 'Eadui' rests on the equivocal evidence of a colophon in Hanover, Kestner-Museum W. M. xxi a, 36, 183v. In addition to Dumville (preceding note), see Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 22, and R. W. Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan: Scriptorum Princeps?', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Hicks, pp. 267–83.
- ²¹ On the relatively late arrival of Style IV at Worcester, see Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 136–7. The evidence for both Latin and vernacular scripts at Worcester in the first half of s. xi does not reveal a single, clear line of development; see Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 68–75, and N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: a Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A.XIII', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 49–75, at 51–2; repr. in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries*, ed. Watson, pp. 31–59, at 34–5.
- ¹⁵ This rite, without the customizing details mentioned above (n. 12) and with an altered ending, occurs in the late 'commonplace book' manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37, 40v–41v. The table of contents in CCCC 190 suggests that the same excommunication formula may also have occurred among material that was lost from the exemplar of that manuscript; see Sauer, 'Die Exkommunikationsriten', p. 285.

¹⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 94; cf. James, *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 16.

²³ In the Latin of IV Edgar the hand changes perceptibly at the top of p. 219; Ker (*Catalogue*, p. 94) had noticed a change of hand in the Old English version of the laws, but did not remark that the two hands also divided the copying of the Latin.

²⁴ The hand of the LME-scribe is, however, very similar to, and may be the same as that which added the extra canons to pp. 207–8. Because these additions occur at the end of quire 13 in space left blank by Scribe 1, however, they do not necessarily indicate co-operation between the two scribes.

²⁵ They contain the same number of lines per page (26), but their double-ruled vertical boundary lines extend only the length of the written area, not all the way to the top and bottom of the folio, as in the preceding quires.

²⁶ Evidence that the LME actually constituted a separate 'booklet' that enjoyed independent circulation (suggested by Gatch, 'Old English Literature and the Liturgy', p. 241, n. 4) is less compelling. There is considerable wear and soiling on some leaves (especially p. 268, which must have been the last verso of the volume for a time), but only in the second quire of the work (no. 17), wherein the parchment was, it seems, already of much poorer quality than in the first (no. 16). There is no evidence of additional folding or creasing in either quire. On the distinguishing marks of 'booklets', see P. R. Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', *ASE* 7 (1978), 231–8.

²² Cf. James, *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 17, who seems to attribute all the ritual texts (up to p. 215) to a single hand, neglecting at the very least a marked change in script at p. 211, line 16.

²⁷ For example, in the preface (LME 1), with the *punctus eleuatus* after *scriptis, demonstro, praesumere, didici* and *narranti*, and the *punctus uersus* after *habetur*. See B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D. Ganz and D. Ó Cróinín (Cambridge, 1990), p. 169, and P. Clemoes, 'Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts', *Department of Anglo-Saxon, Occasional Papers* 1 (Cambridge, 1952); repr. as *Old English Newsletter* Subsidia 4 (Binghamton, 1980).

²⁸ Rustic capitals, with occasional uncial and minuscule forms: e.g., p. 237, *eADGARI*; p. 254, *SECUNDUM IOHANNEM*; p. 260, *MARIE* and *MichAbELIS*; cf. p. 264, *ORATIO PRO DEFUNCTO FRATRE* and *FINIUNT CONSUECUDINES*.

²⁹ See p. 237 (LME 1–2) *Ælfricus* and *Kalendis*; and p. 264 (LME 69–70) *Satisfaciat* and *Quia*. On the use of colour and rubrication, see above, p. 19, n. 3.

³⁰ 'A Worcester Cathedral Book'.

³¹ 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book'.

³⁵ For example, in Copenhagen 1595: Amalarius's *Eclogae* (section 1 = quires i–ii), sermons by Abbo of Saint-Germain (section 3 = quires iv–v) and so on. Sauer's analysis of the 'commonplace book' structure also relies on 'blocks' of texts, the restacking of which may explain certain differences in the internal arrangements of CCCC 265 and Barlow 37 ('Zur Überlieferung', pp. 371–2).

³⁶ Whitelock ('Wulfstan at York', pp. 215–16) offers a salutary reminder that 'at the source' in Wulfstan's case need not mean Worcester. Some of the 'commonplace book' manuscripts, including Copenhagen 1595, may well come from York.

³⁷ Sauer's collations of individual items in several manuscripts point to at least four different 'original' versions in Wulfstan's possession. They are represented by: (1) Copenhagen 1595 and (2) Cotton Nero A. i, as well as the exemplars from which descend (3) CCCC 190 and (4) the closely related CCCC 265 and Barlow 37 ('Zur Überlieferung', p. 377).

³² Sauer, 'Zur Überlieferung', p. 379.

³³ Cotton Nero A. i, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv and Copenhagen 1595; the identification of Wulfstan's hand was made by N. R. Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England before the Conquest*, ed. Clemoes and Hughes, pp. 315–31; repr. in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries*, ed. Watson, pp. 9–26.

³⁴ *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. Cross and Tunberg, pp. 27–8 and 60 (quotation from p. 27). A similar union of independently copied sections or 'booklets' is also suggested by the coincidence of scribal stints with gatherings in the Alcuin letter-books on 114r–171v of another first-generation copy of the 'commonplace book', Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (Worcester or York, s. xi¹); see *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, ed. C. Chase, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 5 (Toronto, 1975), 8–9.

³⁸ Fehr, 'Das Benediktiner-Offizium', p. 343: 'weil er ihn, den früheren abt, ebenfalls interessieren mußte'.

³⁹ See *The Chronicle of John of Worcester II: The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. J. Bray and P. McGurk (Oxford, 1995), p. 452. At the date he is called 'abbas' by John of Worcester (s.a. 1002), Wulfstan was already bishop of London, although he may have been an abbot earlier in his career; see *Sermo Lupi*, ed. Whitelock, p. 7, and *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Bethurum, pp. 56–7.

⁴⁰ Fehr ('Das Benediktiner-Offizium') originally believed that the Latin portion of CCCC 190, or its exemplar, was compiled under Ælfric's direction and sent to Wulfstan, who in turn incorporated large portions of that manuscript into CCCC 265. In her seminal article on the 'commonplace book' (1942), Bethurum did not rule out Fehr's hypotheses, though Fehr himself later retreated from his original views on CCCC 190.

⁴¹ Clemons, 'The Old English Benedictine Office': because the *LME* occurs in a manuscript 'drawing on Wulfstan's collection of texts', he writes, 'it can be assumed that Wulfstan knew Ælfric's letter to the monks of Eynsham' (pp. 282–3).

⁴² Implied, for example, by Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan', p. 33, n. 1; and Cross, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript', p. 67.

⁴⁴ See Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 138.

⁴⁵ 'Zur Überlieferung', p. 380. The point is illustrated by a number of Sauer's collations; see, for example, his stemma for Wulfstan's Homily *De baptismo* (Bethurum's Homily VIIa), 'Zur Überlieferung', p. 368.

⁴⁶ 'Zur Überlieferung', pp. 369–70: 'Bei Hs. C [= CCCC 265] ist es . . . nicht ausgeschlossen, daß zumindest ein Teil des Materials . . . schon in Wulfstans Sammlung war (bes. S. 216 bis 227 [= *IV Edgar*] u. 237–268 [= *LME*]).' Both here and in a later remark (p. 372), where he tentatively allows the *LME* a place in the reconstructed common exemplar, Sauer's tone contrasts strikingly with the traditional view (cf. Clemons's 'it can be assumed . . .', quoted above, n. 41). On the case for and against *IV Edgar* as part of the 'commonplace book' tradition, see Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan', p. 32, n. 2, and 'Wulfstan at York', pp. 216 and 224. A second copy of this law code extant in London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i (Worcester, s. xi^{ex}) hints that Worcester, rather than Archbishop Wulfstan's personal attention, may be the common factor in the survival of this text.

⁴³ The argument also rests on other verifiable evidence of intellectual exchange between Ælfric and Wulfstan; see Clemons, 'The Old English Benedictine Office', pp. 282–3.

⁵¹ Mason, *St Wulfstan*, pp. 21–3

⁵² The *LME* would require some modification to suit a cathedral monastery, although the custom of plurality (and, in Ealdred's case, sheer absenteeism) meant that Worcester's bishop would ordinarily play little part in the monks' day-to-day worship. The prior was, in effect, head of the community. On the other hand, *LME* 39 does include the episcopal liturgy of the Chrism Mass, which would probably have meant more to the monks of Worcester than to Ælfric's original audience.

⁵³ On the introduction of Style IV Anglo-Caroline and the Romano-German Pontifical, see above, nn. 21 and 14, respectively.

⁴⁷ Thus the monastic profession 'presule uulstano presente' copied on the recto of the front flyleaf (p. 1). The Old English *Life of St Wulfstan*, written by his chancellor and sometime chaplain, Coleman, has not survived, although a Latin translation and partial abridgement by William of Malmesbury has (*Vita Wulfstani*, ed. Darlington). Valuable re-assessment of Wulfstan II and eleventh-century Worcester is provided by Mason, *St Wulfstan*.

⁴⁸ Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 138.

⁴⁹ Some sources claim that Oswald, like Æthelwold, expelled the secular clergy in a single, dramatic move, while others suggest he built up the monastic community gradually. The opposing views and their documentary bases are clearly laid out by Barrow, 'Community of Worcester'.

⁵⁰ See *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, Register I, ed. R. R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Series 76 (London, 1968), no. 3; and Mason, *St Wulfstan*, pp. 62, n. 85, and 130. There is some disagreement over the date of St Wulfstan's election as prior. Given that Ealdred was elevated to Worcester only in 1046 and did not immediately replace the existing prior, the suggestions 1043 (A. E. E. Jones, *Anglo-Saxon Worcester* (Worcester, 1958), p. 155) and 1046 (Bannister, 'Note on MS Hatton 113', p. lxii) are untenable. Mason says (*St Wulfstan*, p. 61, n. 80) that Wulfstan became prior 'evidently not later than 1055'. For an alternative date of 1057, cf. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brook and V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 83.

⁵⁴ *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. Darlington, p. 52. Founded by St Oswald, the house had suffered greatly in the aftermath of King Edgar's death and the 'anti-monastic reaction'. St Wulfstan rebuilt the monastery, endowed it with lands and provided service books for its church. Coleman was active there as prior by 1093; the house was disbanded, however, by Wulfstan's successor, Samson (1096–1112), in 1096. On the date of the refoundation (before 1093), see Mason, *St Wulfstan*, pp. 168–9, n. 47. Though he did not actually refound the house, Wulfstan also exercised influence over the struggling foundation at Great Malvern (*Vita Wulfstani*, ed. Darlington, p. 26).

- ⁵⁵ Mason, *St Wulfstan*, pp. 206–9 and 130; on post-Conquest changes in the Worcester liturgy, see *ibid.*, pp. 116–17 and 204; on the confraternity, *ibid.*, pp. 197–200. For a broader view of the Norman impact on English monastic life, see Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 122–4, and J. A. Robinson, ‘Lanfranc’s Monastic Constitutions’, *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1909), 375–88.
- ⁵⁶ Thus Eadmer: ‘Supererat adhuc beatæ memoriæ Wulstanus . . . Wigornensis episcopus, unus et solus de antiquis Anglorum patribus, uir in omni religione conspicuus et antiquarum Angliæ consuetudinum scientia apprime imbutus’ (*Historia nouorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, Rolls Series 81 (London, 1884), 45–6: ‘Of the ancient fathers of the English [church], only one was still living: Wulfstan of blessed memory . . . bishop of Worcester, a man celebrated for every sort of piety and utterly steeped in the knowledge of the ancient customs of England’).
- ⁵⁷ *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. Darlington, p. 20: ‘On the day following his ordination he dedicated a church to blessed Bede, appropriately offering the priority of his first dedication to him who had been foremost in learning among the English. For on that day he bedewed the people with such fluent preaching that there could be no doubt but that Wulfstan was, through the Holy Spirit, drawing on that same eloquence that had once inspired the tongue of Bede.’

⁵⁸ See Mason, ‘St Oswald and St Wulfstan’.

- ⁵⁹ *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. Darlington, p. 25. For details of this dispute, which culminated at a Windsor synod on Pentecost, 1072, see Mason, *St Wulfstan*, pp. 110–13, and *idem*, ‘St Oswald and St Wulfstan’, pp. 269 and 277.
- ⁶⁰ The psalter is London, BL, Harley 2904; on its alleged Winchester connection, see *The Salisbury Psalter*, ed. C. and K. Sisam, EETS o.s. 242 (London, 1969), 4–5, and A. Corrêa, ‘The Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald’s Houses’, in *St Oswald*, ed. Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 285–324, at 292–6.
- ⁶¹ Suggested by A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 88; see also her ‘Cultural Transition at Worcester in the Anglo-Norman Period’, in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral: The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1975* (London, 1978), pp. 1–14, at 5, as well as her ‘Traditionalism and Continuity’, pp. 199–200.

- ⁶⁰ See Gneuss, *Hymnar*, pp. 69–74; *idem*, 'Latin Hymns in Medieval England', p. 413; also Milfull, pp. 9–10 and 45. Apart from the relatively meagre provisions in the *Concordia* itself, the *LME* is the oldest representative of the 'Winchester–Worcester' group, the most complete representative of which is CCCC 391 – the so-called Portiforium of St Wulfstan, written in 1065. On the hymnal of the *LME*, see the commentary to §§ 13, 50 and 54. On the general subject of Winchester–Worcester ties, it should be noted that some earlier assumptions are now being reconsidered; see Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 4–5, n. 15.
- ⁶¹ For the calendar of the 'Portiforium', see *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald, HBS 72 (London, 1934), 212–23 (no. 17); for the prayers and *commune sanctorum*, see *The Portiforium of Saint Wulfstan*, ed. Hughes; for the collectar, hymnal, calendar and various other materials, see vol. II of *The Leofric Collectar*, ed. Dewick and Frere, as well as Milfull, pp. 43–7; the litany is also re-edited in *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 115–19 (no. VI). On the Winchester saints in the Portiforium calendar, see also Turner, *Early Worcester MSS*, p. lviii.
- ⁶² Gretsches, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti*, pp. 118–19. The two manuscripts are Oxford, Corpus Christi College 197 (Bury-St-Edmunds provenance, s. x²) and CCCC 178 (Worcester, s. xi¹). Gretsches suggests that the textual affinities stem from a common link to Winchester – directly for Worcester, indirectly (via Ely) for Bury. Dumville, claiming that the usually cited date for the refoundation of Bury (1022) is far too late, has argued for a direct Worcester–Bury link via Ramsey; see his *English Caroline Script*, pp. 7–78.
- ⁶³ Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, pp. xxi–xxii. Now see also Gameson, 'Book Production'.
- ⁶⁴ Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 173 (Old Minster, Winchester, s. xi^{med}). On these fragments' ties to Winchester, see the *Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral*, ed. J. K. Floyer, rev. and ed. S. G. Hamilton (Oxford, 1906), pp. 98–100; also C. H. Turner, 'The Churches at Winchester in the Early Eleventh Century', *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1915–16), 65–8. The presence of this book at Worcester in the earlier Middle Ages is questioned by Gameson, 'Book Production', p. 243, but accepted by K. D. Hartzell, 'An English Missal Fragment in the British Library', *ASE* 18 (1989), 45–97, at pp. 84–9. The direct Winchester–Worcester link long perceived in the 'Samson Pontifical' (= CCCC 146, s. xi^m), has been challenged by a revised palaeographical analysis; see Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 72–3.
- ⁶⁹ Thus the ostensible purpose of Ælfric's Old English pastorals to Wulfstan, and Wulfstan's own *Canons of Edgar* (ed. R. Fowler, EETS o.s. 266 (London, 1972)).

⁷⁰ Wulfstan was buried at Ely, where miracles at his tomb were claimed; he was also revered at Peterborough for an alleged donation. Yet Archbishop Wulfstan does not appear to have been a monk at either of these houses, leading Whitelock to speculate that he had family ties to the Fenland monasteries; see the introduction to her *Sermo Lupi*, pp. 7–8. The modest use of the Benedictine *Rule* in Wulfstan's works is discussed by K. Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 23 (Bern, 1950), 51, n. 2, and *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Bethurum, p. 325.

⁶⁷ See *Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Bethurum, nos. XIV, XV and XVIII.

⁶⁸ These excerpts and their associations with Wulfstan or Ælfric pose notorious difficulties; see above, p. 23, n. 19, and p. 63, n. 178.

⁷⁶ 'In this little book are contained twelve *sermones* in English, which we have taken from the books that Abbot Ælfric translated into English'; see Ker, *Catalogue*, item 41(A), art. 19.

⁷⁷ The prefaces that name Ælfric as author of the First and Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* are found in only one manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28), apart from which there is no manuscript evidence for the circulation of the prefaces; see Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, pp. 47–54, and *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. Wilcox, pp. 74–7. On CUL Gg. 3. 28, see Sisam, *Studies*, pp. 165–71, and *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope I, 34–5.

⁷⁸ On the evidence of late eleventh-century annotations and corrections, see McIntyre, 'Early-Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory', pp. 52–82 and 218–23 (Appendix B).

⁷³ See Ker, *Catalogue*, item 331; also *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope I, 70–7. Hatton 113–14 was originally the companion volume of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (Ker item 338). For Hatton 113–14, a more precise date of 1070 has been argued, based on obits inserted into the calendars that precede both Hatton 113 and CCCC 391; see Bannister, 'Note on MS Hatton 113', p. lxii.

⁷⁴ *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope I, 74–6. The arrangement of this large collection suggests that, by the mid-eleventh century, 'at Worcester exegetical preaching on the pericope was practiced only in the chief Dominical seasons and that most preaching there was catechetical; hence the emphasis on materials which are useful at will rather than seasonally' (Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, p. 56). The movement towards catechetical preaching at some centres is better exemplified by Hatton 115 (Ker, *Catalogue*, item 332; origin unknown, s. xi²), the thirty-two items of which, though all by Ælfric, are all designated *quando uolueris*; see *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope I, 53–9.

- ⁷⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, item 41(A). On Coleman's marginalia, see the list by Ker, 'Old English Notes Signed "Coleman"'. Significant additions to Ker's list are offered by McIntyre, 'Early-Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory', pp. 40–2. On the possible relation of CCCC 178 to Hatton 113–14, see *Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope I, 76–7.
- ⁷¹ *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. Darlington, pp. 13–14. This duty would later pass to his chancellor and future biographer, Coleman (*ibid.*, pp. 39–40), whose annotations turn up in a number of Worcester manuscripts from the period; see below, n. 75.
- ⁷² On vernacular manuscripts and preaching at St Wulfstan's Worcester, see Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, pp. 56–7 and 209, n. 101; also W. Keller, *Die literarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in angelsächsischer Zeit*, Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker 84 (Strassburg, 1900), 63–6. For a broader survey, including Latin as well as Old English homilies, see McIntyre, 'Early-Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory', pp. 98–103.
- ⁸¹ Lines 6–9. Ælfric did not in fact translate all of the Pentateuch; see *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, ed. C. R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, EEMF 18 (Copenhagen, 1974), 42–53. Strangely, the 'Fragment' also gives Ælfric the cognomen Alcuin, though this may simply reflect a muddled knowledge of Ælfric's translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*; see Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English* II, 226, and Brehe, 'Reassembling the First Worcester Fragment', pp. 531–2.
- ⁸² Hall (*Selections from Early Middle English* II, 224) argues against a Worcester origin, citing the absence from the poem of such local worthies as Bishop Wærferth (872–915) and Archbishop Wulfstan (1002–16), not to mention the great preacher St Wulfstan. For a corrective and more plausible interpretation of the list of bishops, see Brehe, 'Reassembling the First Worcester Fragment', pp. 531–5.
- ⁷⁹ The most recent edition and commentary are by Brehe, 'Reassembling the First Worcester Fragment'; still useful, too, are the edition and notes by Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English* I, 1 (text) and II, 223–8 (notes).
- ⁸⁰ See C. Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1991), pp. 12–14, 70–1, 84–94 and pl. X; also 'An Edition of the Early Middle English Copy of Ælfric's "Grammar" and "Glossary" in Worcester Cathedral MS. F.174', ed. M. S. Butler (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Pennsylvania State Univ., 1981), pp. 1–8 and 81–9.

¹ RC (Kornexl), pp. clvi–clxix.

² Printed by James, *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 16.

- ⁶ On the codicology of the Faustina manuscript before and after its mutilation, see now *RC* (Kornexl), pp. cxii–cxvi.
- ⁴ ‘The Preface to the Christian Reader’, in *A Testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lorde . . . aboute 600. yeares agoe* (London, 1566 or 1567), 5r–v (on CCCC 265) and 7v (reference to the *LME*).
- ⁵ Quoted from *RC* (Kornexl), p. xxxv, n. 17: ‘A book concerning monastic custom, which is either the same [book] that Æthelwold, together with his fellow bishops and abbots, compiled in the time of Edgar, king of the English (mentioned by Abbot Ælfric in his letter to the brothers of Eynsham), or certainly a derivation thereof.’ Joscelyn’s wording clearly echoes *LME* 1.
- ³ On Joscelyn’s hand in CCCC 265, see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 94. On pp. 237–8 of the *LME* the annotations ‘prima hora’, ‘tertia hora’, ‘sexta hora’ and ‘nona hora’ appear to be Joscelyn’s, referring to the corresponding names of the hours that he or another reader has underlined in the text of *LME* 2 (I am grateful to Tim Graham and Catherine Hall for assistance with the identification). In addition to Joscelyn’s hand are at least three layers of later medieval and early modern annotation in the *LME*. Two notes in a glossing hand of s. xii (?) have been partially cropped away on p. 264 (pertaining to *LME* 69). Very faint late medieval cursive notes in pencil, usually beginning ‘Nota’, occur on pp. 247–52 and 254, and quite frequently elsewhere in the whole manuscript. Finally, a modern hand has added line numbers on each page.
- ¹⁰ Mores, *De Ælfrico*, pp. 66–7. Mores also attributes to Bata the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and the pastoral letters to Wulfstan.
- ¹¹ Mores, *De Ælfrico*, pp. 66–7: ‘postea cœnobio Benedictinorum Egneshamensi ab Æthelmero recens fundato præponebatur abbas [scil. Ælfric Bata] anno MV[;] ibi excerpta ex Atheluoldi libro de consuetudine monachorum fratribus nuper rogatu Æthelmeri ad monachicum habitum ordinatis scriptando demonstrauit’ (emphasis added to indicate echoes of *LME* 1).
- ¹² This vacillation continued until Dietrich’s publications of 1855–6 (‘Abt Ælfrik’); see, e.g., T. Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria, or Biography of Literary Characters of Great Britain and Ireland arranged in Chronological Order*, 2 vols. (London, 1842–6) I, 482–3 (s.v. ‘Alfric of Canterbury’). Wright suggests that Ælfric (of Canterbury) visited Eynsham and acted, while archbishop, as its head; it was, then, in this capacity that ‘he abridged the “Rule” of Ethelwold’ (p. 482). For a recent instance of doubt, see Hohler, ‘Some Service Books’, p. 73.

- ⁷ 'Notandum quoque in pag. huiusce Cod. 237 exstare *Excerpta Ælfrici ex libro Athelwoldi Wintoniensis Episcopi de Consuetudine Monachorum*, cuius Epistolam nuncupatoriam describere haud grauatsum: . . . [here follows *LME* 1 quoted in full]' (*Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium, qui in Angliæ Bibliothecis extant nec non multorum Veterum Codicum Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus*; vol. II of G. Hickes's *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archæologicus* (Oxford, 1705), p. 110).
- ⁸ J. Nasmith, *Catalogus Librorum manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariæ Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensi legauit reuerendissimus Matthæus Parker, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis* (Cambridge, 1777), p. 312 (item 17). Nasmith's description of CCCC 265 is reprinted by James, *Descriptive Catalogue* II, 14–16.
- ⁹ Mores, *De Ælfrico* (1789), published posthumously by G. J. Thorkelin. The identification with Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury had been popular among the Elizabethan Anglo-Saxonists, but was challenged in the late seventeenth century by the 'Dissertatio de Elfrico Archiepiscopo Cantuar[.], utrum is fuerit Elfricus Grammaticus', included by H. Wharton (1664–95) in his *Anglia sacra, sine collectio historiarum . . . de archiepiscopis et episcopis Anglia [sic] a prima fidei Christianae susceptione ad annum MDXL*, 2 vols. (London, 1691) I, 125–34. Mores's arguments are directed chiefly against Wharton's thesis; see the summary by White, *Ælfric*, pp. 183–5.
- ¹⁰ Tupper, 'History and Texts', col. 357. See also 'Ein weiteres Bruchstück', ed. Zupitza, who claimed (p. 24) that the Old English Tiberius fragment, with its considerable translation errors, could hardly be the work of Ælfric, author of the *Grammar* and *Colloquy*.
- ¹¹ Tupper, 'History and Texts', col. 357; see also *RC* (Kornexl), p. xxxv, n. 18.
- ¹² Breck, 'Fragment of Ælfric's Translation' (1887). The Old English text edited here had also been printed in the previous year by A. Schröer, 'De Consuetudine Monachorum', *Englische Studien* 9 (1886), 290–6.
- ¹³ *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, p. cxxvi, n. 1; also *RC* (Kornexl), p. cli.
- ¹⁴ 'By doing this he was enabled to offer them a far more practical guide, freed from all unnecessary matter, and more fitted to their particular wants as he knew them; and he secured in addition the opportunity of making other suggestions taken from the writings of Amalarius, and, in all probability, from his own experience. This accounts for the very free style of his Abridgment [i.e., the *LME*], as he absorbed the matter of the *De Consuetudine* and wrote out the gist of it, not at all in the order of the original, and wove much foreign matter into his work' (Breck, 'Fragment of Ælfric's Translation', p. 12).

¹⁸ Wanley had printed the entire preface in his *Catalogus*, and many studies had quoted from the preface (either from Wanley or directly from the manuscript), but no other portions of the *LME* had been edited.

¹³ 'Abt Ælfrik', published in two parts in 1855 and 1856.

¹⁴ 'Abt Ælfrik', p. 541: 'Ælfriks Auszug . . . für Anfänger'.

²¹ Published as 'Appendix VII' to *Comptus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester*, ed. G. W. Kitchin (London, 1892), pp. 171–98.

²² As in her 'Rules for Monks', which re-identified the second extant manuscript of the *Regularis concordia* in Cotton Faustina B. iii; see *RC* (Kornexl), p. cxvi, n. 81.

²³ *Excerpta ex institutionibus*, ed. Bateson, p. 173.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

³⁰ 'A Worcester Cathedral Book'.

²⁵ *Ibid.* The rest of Bateson's remarks have stood up less well. She suggested, for example, that the copy in CCCC 265 may be Ælfric's autograph, and she accordingly tried to date the manuscript (and not just the composition of the *LME*) to 'before the year 1005'. Note her implied realization, however, that the evidence of S 911 requires Æthelmær's monastery to have been built and manned before the date of the charter. Cf. above, pp. 5–10.

²⁶ For example, *Excerpta ex institutionibus*, p. 192 (second paragraph): 'ac uictualia quibus fratres utuntur ipsis prebere cui obedientię adsit, ipse abbas quotienscumque ei uacauerit, nam de susceptione hospitum regula docet'. The scribe correctly put a stop after *prebere*; cf. edition, below, at *LME* 62.

²⁷ For the Latin text of the *Concordia*, she cites the edition from Cotton Tiberius A. iii by Logeman, 'De Consuetudine Monachorum'; for Amalarius's *Liber officialis* (which Bateson calls *De ecclesiasticis officiis*), she had to rely on Melchior Hittorp's *De diuinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis* (Cologne, 1568).

- ²⁸ Bateson, 'Rules for Monks', pp. 703–7. This English summary must be used with caution. See, for example, her paraphrase of Ælfric on the bishop's anointing of the newly baptized (*LME* 46): 'quia episcopus debet in fronte unguere ubi laminam auream pontifex ferebat' (referring to Exod. XXVIII.36–8), rendered by Bateson, 'because it is left to the bishop to anoint on the forehead where the pope would put the gold leaf' ('Rules for Monks', p. 706).
- ²⁹ Bateson, 'Rules for Monks', p. 702. She appears to accept (p. 707, n. 57) the theory of Dietrich and Breck that Ælfric wrote the Old English Tiberius-fragment, although she questions the likelihood that such a translation could have been meant for the Eynsham monks, who obviously could read Latin.
- ³¹ White, *Ælfric*, pp. 199–211 (bibliography); Bateson's publications are noted in Godden's 'Supplementary Classified Bibliography' appended to the 1974 reprint of White's book (p. 231).
- ³² 'Fragment of Ælfric's Translation' and 'History and Texts', respectively.
- ³³ See, White, *Ælfric*, pp. 62–3 and 159–64. At pp. 63–4, White claims that the *De consuetudine* from which Ælfric drew his 'excerpts' was a vernacular text, but she corrects herself on p. 159, n. 1. Her error reflects the widespread confusion among previous scholars caused by the misinterpretation of Joscelyn's note in Cotton Tiberius A. iii. White repeats (p. 164) Breck's arguments for and Zupitza's against Ælfric's authorship of the Tiberius fragment but does not favour one position over the other.
- ³⁴ White, *Ælfric*, pp. 181–2. The portion of S 911 printed is the Old English summary of the terms of Æthelmær's gift, including his appointment of an unnamed abbot (*ealdor*) and his pledge to live among the monks; see *EC* I, 24 (from 'Ic Æþelmær cyðe . . .').

³⁶ See Jones, 'Two Composite Texts'.

- ³⁷ In an earlier publication ('Chronology', pp. 241 and 245) Clemoes had already accepted the essence of Fehr's chronology, on which see also Clemoes's 'Supplement to the Introduction', *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, p. cxlv. Cf. above, p. 25, n. 26.
- ³⁵ *Hirtenbriefe*, ed. Fehr, p. xlvii: 'eine nützliche Vorbereitungsarbeit'. It is far more likely that Ælfric returned to his original sources when composing Brief III. Cf. above, pp. 24–7, and Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', p. 107, n. 10.

³⁸ Vol. VI of *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey* (1932–42).

³⁹ See *RC* (Symons), pp. xxix, lvi and *passim*. The notes to his edition refer to the *LME* by the siglum 'AE'.

⁴⁰ *Hymnar*, esp. pp. 119–20. Gneuss refers to the *LME* as 'Ae'.

⁴¹ The project was begun at Rome in 1955, the first volume appearing in 1963. A statement of the origins, scope and editorial principles is included in *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae*, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), lxxv–lxxix and lxxxv–xcviii.

⁴² The present edition retains the CCM division and numbering of 'Sinnabschnitte'. The larger organizational divisions (following the CCM only in part) are noted in the commentary but not in the body of the edition.

⁴⁴ 'The "Regularis Concordia"', pp. 302–5, and *RC* (Kornexl), pp. clii–cliv. A recent broadly based liturgical study, much in the tradition of Tolhurst and Gneuss, constitutes the only exception: see Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, citing the *LME* as 'Ccc 265' or 'Aelfric'.

⁴³ See, for example, CCM 7.1, 157: 'Text der (verkürzten) *Reg. Conc.*'; also p. 158: '... dieses für die Textkontrolle der *Reg. Conc.* wichtigen Faszikels'; and p. 160: 'Auch der nach 1004 verfaßte Ælfric-Brief erweist sich mitunter als brauchbare textkritische Hilfe.'

⁴⁵ Hall, 'Some Liturgical Notes'. See commentary to *LME* 46 (at n. 228) and 70 (at n. 320).

⁴⁶ 'Old English Literature and the Liturgy', pp. 240–2.

⁴⁷ 'The Office', esp. pp. 348–9 and 352–62. In this article Gatch announced his intention to publish a new edition and full study of the *LME*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

¹ See above, pp. 97–9 and 100–2. Bateson's is nearly a diplomatic edition. The CCM editors deal more freely with the presentation of the text, especially in the use of supplied chapter and section headings, but their principles of transcription and emendation remain conservative, as is common when treating a *codex unicus*.

² The comparisons, however, are mostly indirect, through the *Concordia* and its sources and analogues; see above, p. 42, n. 102.

³ See especially above, pp. 58 and 68–70, on the possible effects of Ælfric's compositional method.

⁴ The present commentary does assume a basic knowledge of the mass, Office, horarium and liturgical calendar, such as may be gained from Harper, *Forms and Orders*. Also helpful are Hardison, *Christian Rite*, pp. 48–77 (the mass); P. Salmon, *L'Office divin*, Lex orandi 27 (Paris, 1959; English trans. as *The Breviary through the Centuries*; Collegeville, MN, 1962); S. J. P. van Dijk, 'The Bible in Liturgical Use', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. II: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 220–52 (mass and Office); R. E. Reynolds, s.v. 'Mass, Liturgy of the', *DMA* VIII, 181–201; *idem*, s.v. 'Divine Office', *DMA* IV, 221–31. On the medieval English monastic Office, especially useful are Tolhurst's *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries* and RC (Symons), pp. xxix–xlv.

⁵ Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', supplemented by updated references in *Liturgical Books*, ed. Pfaff.

1 a Ælfricus] *Æ three-line initial in red*

b Eadgari] *capitals*

2 a Kalendis] *K three-line initial in blue*

c expertes] expertis *MS*; *em. Nocent*

4 a coniunctim] cumiunctim *MS*

b una] uno *MS*; *em. Nocent*

13 a sidereæ] sidere *MS*

18 a diei] dies *MS*

20 a et] ? *for ut*; *cf. RC 48*

23 a antiphona] *cf. RC 51 antiph usu. expanded as plural*; *see commentary*

25 a conspergat] conspergit *MS*; *cf.* *RC* 54

22 a etiam] *cf.* *RC* 50 tamen; *see commentary*

b ostium] hostium *MS*

28 a propius] *cf. Lib.off.* I.iii.1 proprius; *see commentary*

26 a .i.] *om.* *MS*

b sexta] sextam *MS*

b reliquis] reliquiis *MS*

30 a quem] quia *MS*; *em. Nocent*; *cf. Lib.off.* I iv.1

29 a psalmum] psalmo *MS*; *em. Nocent*

b Capite Ieiunii] Capitis Ieiunio *MS*

b oratio] oratione *MS*

32 a puero] *not in MS*; quodam followed by an erasure of 4–5 letters; descender of initial p is partially visible

b oratione] orationis *MS*; *em. Nocent*

37 a ostium] hostium *MS*

38 a exspoliamus] expoliamus *MS*

39 a significari] ? for significare

b massa] missa *MS*; *em. Nocent*; *cf. R1(Sa)*

b exspoliatus] expoliatus *MS*

41 a ab] *om. MS*; *em. Nocent*

42 a cereis] ceteris *MS*

43 a est] que est *MS*; *see commentary*

d media] mediam *MS*

b preparato] preparatus *MS*; preparata *em. Bateson*

b prima] priman *MS*

c *tertia*] *tertiam MS*

e nosmetipsos] uosmetipsos *MS*

b secundum Iohannem] *capitals*

c horam] oram *MS*

d Finita] Finito *MS*

46 a sancti Gregorii] *capitals*

e genu flexo] geno fle *with xo written in the margin by the same hand*

49 a uero] uera MS

50 a Agni] magni MS

48 a gradalis] *capitals*

b sed] s& *abbrev. MS*

51 a in] *om. MS; em. Bateson; cf. Sac. Greg., no. 508*

52 a antiphonario] antiphanario MS

53 a septem] .vi.^{tem} *abbrev. MS; see commentary*

54 a semper] seper MS

55 a Mariae] *capitals*

b Michaelis] Michahelis MS; *capitals*

60 a eo] *corr. from ea, with a not expunged*

62 a aquam] aqua MS

63 a dominium] dñm (? dominum) *abbrev. MS; cf. RC 10*

66 a ordinem commendationis] orationem commendatis MS, *em. Nocent; cf. RC 99*

67 a sacerdotum] sacerdotes MS; em. Nocent

69 a Oratio pro defuncto fratre] *red capitals*

b ordinis. Si] ordinis nisi si MS; cf. RC 99 and RC (Kornexl), p. 376

b Satisfaciat] S *green initial*

70 a Quia] Q *red initial*

b duas] *om.* MS; em. Nocent

c sancti] sū *abbrev.* MS; em. Nocent

d omnia] omiam *abbrev. with titulus over a instead of i* MS

c Finiunt consuetudines] *red capitals*

74 a Nouembris] Nouembrium MS

75 a prima ebdomada] primo ebdomade MS; em. Nocent

76 a tertia] .ii.^a *sic* MS

b catholicorum] chatholicorum MS

77 a lectiones] lectionis MS; em. Nocent

80 a repetatis] *not in MS, see commentary*

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